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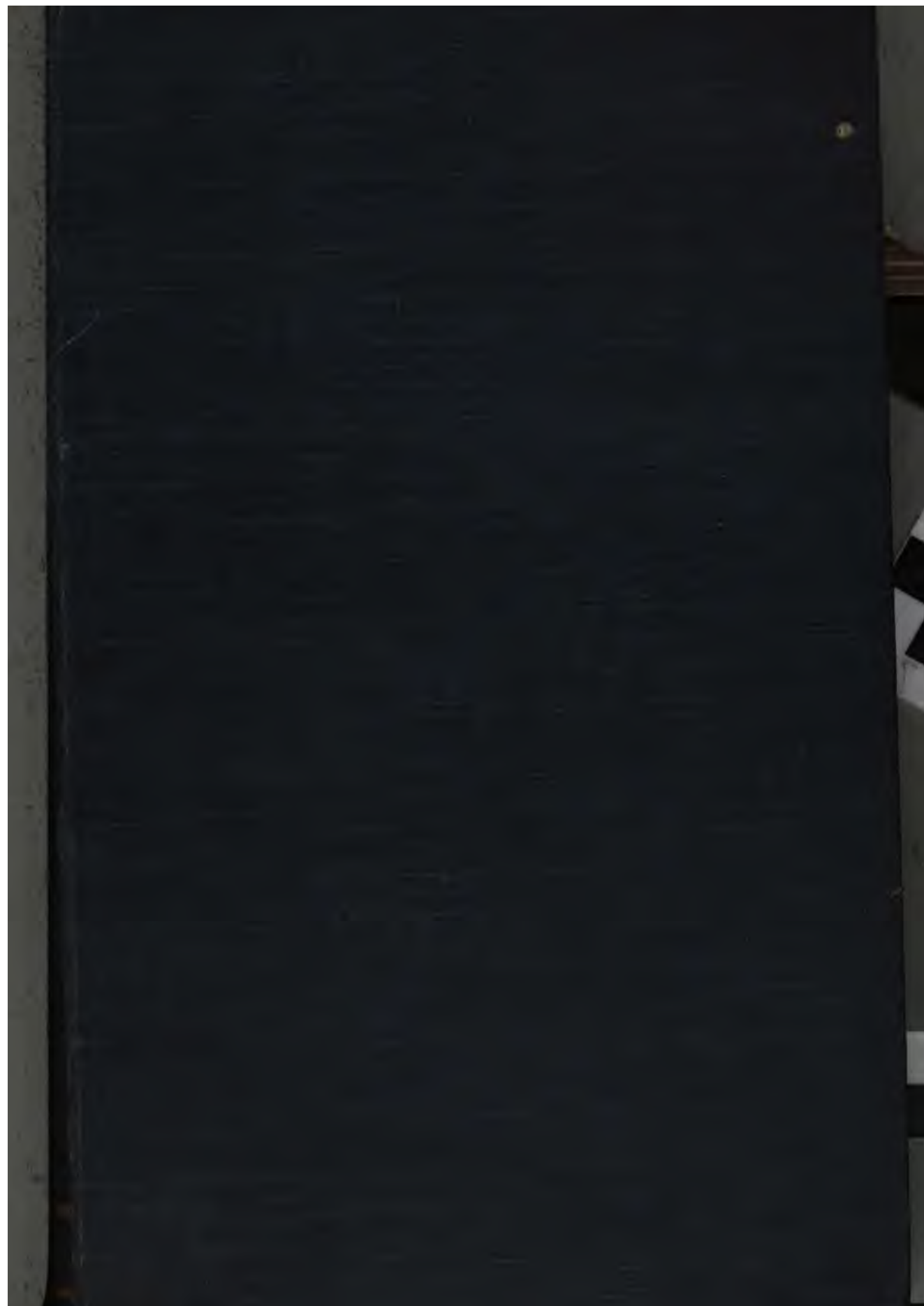
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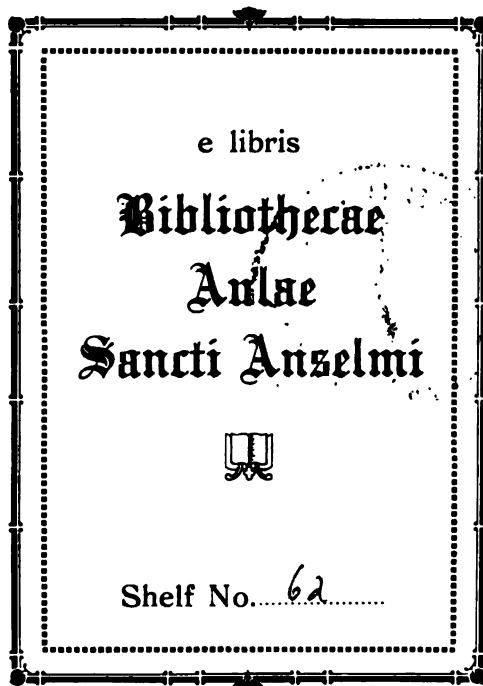
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# THE EAST & THE WEST

*A QUARTERLY REVIEW FOR THE  
STUDY OF MISSIONS*

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**VOLUME V.**

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1907

PUBLISHED BY THE  
**Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts**  
19 DELAHAY STREET, WESTMINSTER, S.W.

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# The East and The West

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JANUARY 1907

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## CANADA.

THE great Dominion hides her face from the Old World behind a veil of icy fog more or less 300 miles in depth. But if you will penetrate it you are rewarded by being ushered into what is surely the noblest approach to a nation's gateway that the world can show—600 miles of a broad river leading you up to Quebec with its wonderful history. As you stand upon the citadel and survey the scene the visitor asks whether even the Highlands of Scotland can excel Canada in the romance of her early history in the days of the French pioneers and the great Indian tribes, or even to-day. In one sense there are five Canadas—the Maritime Provinces, French Canada, United States Canada, the Prairie, British Columbia. Yet there is only one Canada, forced to be one by the presence of a great nation marching with it for 3,000 miles, and made more than ever one now by the effect of a material undertaking, by the Canadian Pacific Railway. As in the past the discoveries of astronomy and of printing and of the steam engine revolutionised human thought and completely altered its horizon, so in Canada a railway has done more for the unity of a nation than all the arguments and writings of statesmen. All honour to the men who risked their entire fortunes in that great undertaking—they deserve

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**NOTE.**—Readers of this Review are reminded that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, under whose auspices it is published, is not prepared to endorse the particular views expressed by the several contributors to its pages.

the fortunes which their success gave them ; but I believe it was not the love of money but the promptings of patriotism and high statesmanship which gave them courage to cut a vista for the Canadian nation the end of which is lost in the hazy distance. With the Mother Land at one end, the other is traced at present as far as Japan and Hong Kong by rail and steamer ; and no man can say how far that vista may be extended in ten years' time. You cannot be in Canada many days before you realise that the whole nation is awake, expecting great things. Indeed, it is with a sense of awe that an Englishman—or, if you like, a member of the British Empire—surveys to-day the making of Canada. So far as we can see it is the last chance in this world of founding a nation predominantly Anglo-Saxon in a temperate region of the earth, and a nation which must soon assume huge proportions. Statesmen who have nursed Canada through its childhood say calmly now, "We shall have 80 millions of people there by the year 2000." The pressure upon her from the United States is of course enormous. Literature of all kinds from across the border floods Canada to the exclusion, far too much, of English magazines and papers. For this reason alone one is inclined to press the work of the Victoria League, which sends English literature to Canada to the utmost of its power, and with most beneficial effect. It is its proximity to the States which in one great sense differentiates Canada from Australia. First, it forces Canadians to be a united nation ; secondly, the wealth of the States is ready to pour itself into any Canadian enterprise which offers profit, with the result that the development of the Dominion is being pushed forward at a pace which is unknown in Australia. It is a point to be remembered by Churchmen as well as by statesmen. There is, in fact, at this time a new Niagara more wonderful than the old one, because it is a torrent of human life, and almost entirely young life. The new Niagara is in Winnipeg Station. And if a thoughtful man told me he had a week to spend in Canada and sought my advice how to spend it I should be tempted to recommend him to spend the whole week in Winnipeg Station if it were in the early summer. He would gain an impression of the making of a nation in a short space of time

by the aid of modern means of locomotion which seems to be unique. The nomad hordes in the East in ancient times are represented to-day by the peaceful transport of hundreds of thousands of young lives to a region where every attempt is being made to induce them to take root.

But let us begin with the emigrants before they become immigrants. On board the splendid "Victorian" of the Allan Line there were some 200 English-speaking emigrants aft, and forward there were 270 who could not speak English—Norwegians, Danes, Swedes, Finns—splendid material for a new country. It was easy to supply the spiritual needs of those who understood English, but it was puzzling what could be done for the others until it came to us that we should send a respectful message to the Scandinavians that, as a welcome to a British ship and to Canada, the English would like to come and sing hymns to the foreigners on Sunday evening. Some eighty begged to be in the choir which sang the simplest hymns to these people; then at the conclusion a friend said: "Let us all, of whatever race, stand up together and say the Lord's Prayer in our own tongues." It was done; and with such a prayer we introduced people whose blood runs in our veins to their new home under the British flag. In due time, no doubt, they passed on to the prairie. What is it, however, which affects the habits of English people when they cross the sea? Contrary to the old adage, do they really leave part of their character and habits in the old land? A Montreal clergyman asked me to solve his perplexity, explaining: "I have many immigrants in my parish from England. They tell me they are Church people, and have been communicants and church-workers. I answer them that they have here to support their clergymen. This is new to them, and they hesitate. That I can understand. Then I ask them to do just what they did in England—that is, continue to be communicants and church-workers. No, they will not. What is the reason?" Perhaps it is a temporary reaction: we trust it is not that their faith was but resting on public opinion where all knew them, and when public opinion was withdrawn the habits failed. Certainly a new land is a great test of the motive force that rules us; nothing reveals so much the depth of the

soil on which the seed has fallen as a new start in a new land.

Eastern Canada may be said to be divided in a real sense from Western Canada by a strait popularly called "the Soo," but in geography the rapids of Sault Ste. Marie. It is, as it were, the neck of Canada through which the water-borne produce of the prairie passes east in tonnage more than twice that which uses the Suez Canal, wonderful though the fact appears to be. And on the banks Hiawatha and his tribe look down upon the modern life flowing past the home of the Ojibways.

*The Indian Problem.*—I do not find that the Indian problem is more easy in Canada than in other countries where the same factors exist. The ideal set before the Christian statesman is, I suppose, that gradually a race brought into touch with more advanced races should be raised to a higher level, keep its self-respect and independence, increase in numbers, and take its position in due time as an integral part of a civilised State, not intermarrying with the white race but preserving its own characteristics, modified and ennobled by bringing them into the society called the Body of Christ. Our achievements in Canada have not reached that ideal. Bishops who know the Far North say that they have noble Christians in regions far from the white man and there they lead the simple Christian life of "babes" but they are consistent with their profession. They also say that these men are such children that nothing would induce the clergy to tempt these child-people down southwards. If they came to parts populated by white men they would go to pieces. In regions where the white man dwells there seems to me to be little, if any, advance anywhere, nothing but a slow deterioration. The Government spends much money on the Indian problem but is perplexed. They have treaties with the Indians and guarantee them reserves and liberty of action on them. Education is not compulsory there and they can live as nomads if they choose. But a reserve is not an Arcadia. If a railway runs near to one the Indians hang about the stations and then some say that reserves are a mistake. Granted that they are not a panacea for all ills still it is to be remembered that these reserves form part

of definite treaties. Virtually there have been no Indian rebellions in Canada, and it is chiefly because the Government has kept its word. From this point of view alone it is best to respect all reserves in order that our name may be honoured by the ancient inhabitants of the land. We owe Canada itself to the manner in which we have kept to our treaties with the French Canadians and their Church in the Eastern provinces; we owe it to our good name to keep our treaties with a feeble race to-day in Western Canada. The Indian boarding-schools problem also has its perplexities. A confined life in a large building is not necessarily the best training for an Indian child brought from the reserve. But waiving that, it would appear that the only hope of success with such a pupil is to take him away altogether from the parents, to educate him, and to put him into business far from his own people—in fact, to make him forget his father's house. But is it right to go to a mother and say, "Give me your child; you shall never see him again"? Supposing, on the other hand, you educate him and return him to his people. Then the boy is miserable; he dislikes his parents' ways; what he has learnt is no use to him there; what they need—the art of hunting—has been lost by the boy. But if you set the young fellow up in a farm or in any capacity near the reserve, then the whole family will come and live on the boy till he is ruined. If you make him a catechist to his own people they do not like their own race to be their teachers, preferring Europeans. An Indian boarding-school, therefore, if it is to succeed, would appear to be a place full of children taken away for ever from their parents. What of schools for Indian children on or near reserves? The children cannot be made to attend. I heard of schools with a proper teacher with an average attendance of six, two, and in one case of half a child. What of the Indian as a workman? Near white populations the faults of the white man overpower the child man, and he slowly disappears. What is the remedy near the white populations? So far as we can see it lies in the direction of fewer schools, but these of the very best, with exceptionally good managers. In such schools most of the time should be given to industrial work, and the young men drafted away as workmen or

farmers and a close connection kept up with them. It is the nature of the soil which constitutes the difficulty with a child race that is in danger of dying out.

I asked the Rev. John Mathieson to tell me of the noblest Indian he had ever met in all the years he had spent among them. He spoke of a Cree, named "The Snake," who in his old age went out in a leaky canoe in winter to save some children who had drifted out on broken ice and were going to certain destruction. Those who saw The Snake venture after them said he could not return. He did come back, with half the children saved as by a miracle.

*The prairie problem.*—Reference must be made to an article in the *Mission Field* for November 1906 for a detailed description of this problem. I confine myself here to the broad outlines of it. Here is a region consisting, I suppose, of nearly 400,000 square miles which may be potentially one vast wheat field. The plain stretches out like a sea, and often with a weird and awful beauty. Once I saw a sunset of rare beauty here when suddenly the rays of the setting sun illuminated the whole area right up to the horizon as with gold ; it was of course one vast yellow stubble field. Over this region there now trickles a flood of human life, come to settle where once buffaloes and Indians roamed. "A sower went forth to sow : some fell——" I saw the sowing and fancy filled the gaps. Will the human wheat to be produced be worthy of "elevators" ? Is it not our business to see that the little spires rising in each township are after all the real elevators ? If not, will not the export from this vast human field be deleterious ? Would it not have been better to have had Indians and buffaloes still ? Obviously it is our duty to despatch leaders of the Church into this region just as fast as the population arrives ; and it must be done without delay. If the Anglican Church is to exist at all on the prairie five years hence, we must send in men to minister to our people now. If we cannot get clergy then we must have laymen ; and these laymen must be watched over and fed with their Sacrament by travelling priests continually moving among them and their people. All honour to other denominations who appreciate the situation fully. I know of one dear fellow of ours who has almost broken his heart over the

attempt to minister to farmers scattered all over an area of fifty miles by thirty single-handed, whilst in the same area there were six Presbyterian and four Methodist ministers. He had spent three days at home with his wife in five weeks. We must have fifty laymen or more to place upon the prairie by next spring, godly men who are to visit all the time and to live in the saddle. In the winter they can be withdrawn for certain months in order to proceed with their education as pastors some day if they are fit. They will have a hard but healthy life, their reward being the fact that they are laying the actual foundation of the ancient Church of our race in a new empire of white men.

Every one on the prairie, of course, has a hard life at first, face to face with great cold and great heat. It is well known what the terms of the Government are—any one may have a homestead of 160 acres for ten dollars on condition that he does a certain specified amount of work upon it for three years, and then it becomes his own. A man when asked what it meant put it in a nutshell—"You see, it's this way: the Government bet you 160 acres to ten dollars that you won't stick it out for three years." Canada is a young man's country, and it needs "sticking out." Therefore, the following story points its own moral. I believe it was somewhere in the region of Edmonton that an English clergyman was set down to work among people many of whom were evidently "old timers." He could not stand the discomfort in certain special directions, and asked to be withdrawn. Before his departure he had occasion to take a funeral, and whilst the service was in progress the following comment was overheard, being made in the hush within the sacred building. "'Fought with beasts,' did he? Humph! and scared from here by bugs in his bed!" The Brotherhood of St. Andrew does splendid work in Canada, and thrives on American soil. It does not thrive in England as does the Church of England Men's Society, the work of which is being felt on the prairie now, for the clergy come across little groups of trained mechanics who are staunch Churchmen, and who can give a reason for the faith that is in them.



*Other great problems of the Canadian Church.*—In the forefront I must be permitted to make some statements. The Canadian Church is a missionary church. I found the outward look, the desire to enlarge, strong everywhere. The East helps the West, perhaps to the utmost of its power: every parish almost everywhere is assessed for its contribution to missionary work, and meets the call. About 40,000 dollars are sent abroad, 60,000 dollars go to their own western needs and no missionary call in the world is louder for them. Secondly, the clergy and laity are together to a degree not equally to be found, I think, in any other region over so large an area. There is no gap between them such as does appear elsewhere. Personally, I dread the gap between leaders and led. Ahead of their people, yes, in many senses, but not separated by a gap into which the enemy may thrust a force. The pressure of a great necessity for unity in the State seems also to have its effect upon the Church. I am told that provincial and metropolitan action is weak, and shows even permanent signs of weakening, in the face of the General Synod of Canada and of the Primacy. It is remarkable that this tendency seems to thrive on American soil. The sister Church in the States will not create an archbishopric or a province, and makes its presiding bishop to be the senior bishop *ex officio*. I make no comments beyond that the tendency is of extreme interest, all the more so because the problems in different parts of Canada and of the States are so different that strong provincial action under a metropolitan who means to magnify his office would seem to be the natural development. It is not so in America; but on the other hand it is likely to be so in Australia. I venture to believe that ere long Australia will present us with a very strong illustration of what a manageable force a province can be—a brigade in an army and able to work out problems for which in a meeting of the General Synod of a whole continent there can be very little time.

Again, the clergy of Canada are to a very large extent racy of the soil, naturally more so than has yet been the case in Australia; for Canada has a much longer history behind it. There are at least six strong theological training colleges—at Lennoxville, Montreal (2), Toronto

(2), and at Winnipeg. A seventh must certainly be created in British Columbia.

But perhaps the most interesting questions in Canada centre round the general distribution of the Church's forces throughout the Dominion. In the past the most powerful missionary society in the world, the C.M.S.—which is pledged only to work among non-Christians—has developed a great organisation along the northern shores of Canada—Moosonee, Keewatin, Mackenzie River, Selkirk, Caledonia, each with its bishop. Very large sums have been expended upon this work; and at that time Western Canada was merely a trapping ground. It was uncertain fifty years ago to whom these prairie regions should belong, whether to Canada or to the States: in those days the Indian work loomed large. Fifty years have passed and the whole situation has altered. The Indian work in the presence of the modern rush of white settlers tends to assume microscopical importance. The Indians are not increasing even in the north: work among them has come almost to a standstill. The C.M.S. have determined to retire from Canada in about eleven years' time and to hand over its work to the Canadian Missionary Society. And here we touch upon a very noble achievement of the Canadian Church. Four years ago all the missionary work of the Church was placed under one organisation with Dr. Tucker for its first secretary. Such a step was only possible in a more or less united church: the result has been admirable, owing largely of course to the intensity and zeal of its first organiser. The Canadian Missionary Society is of course one more unifying force in the Church. The question of extreme interest to us all now is to note what action the Church in Canada will take in regard to the changed conditions of the situation. Just when the C.M.S. is retiring the Church in Canada is fairly overwhelmed with its duties towards the white immigrants, farmers pouring into the country at the rate of about 200,000 a year, and not congregating in groups as miners would, but spreading themselves thinly over tens of thousands of square miles. Can the Canadian Church continue to carry on the Indian work of the C.M.S. on the same scale without the English contributions? Would

it be right to do so in the face of the new duties laid upon it? To an outsider it would seem that the whole question of proportion will have to be considered. Possibly the problem is exactly the opposite to that in South Africa. There the black problem will apparently overwhelm the white one. In Canada it may well be the reverse. And the final result of the deliberations of the very statesman-like advisers at the Board of the Missionary Society may be a re-grouping of bishoprics as occasion permits. In the entirely new position of to-day it is obvious that the question will be asked—"Are all the northern missionary bishoprics really needed to-day?" The number of sees in Canada may not need to be increased, but, as with the battle-fleets of England the ships by re-grouping have made England's sea power four-fold in strength, so in Canada the bishoprics may be in some cases brought down below latitude  $55^{\circ}$ , which is at present the northern boundary of white population in a general sense. These southern latitudes may be the English Channel and the North Sea for the Canadian battle-fleet in future. If this is the course adopted by the Canadian Churchmen it will of course demonstrate the value of one Missionary Board, where it may be had; and we can only congratulate the Canadian Church, which really gave us the Lambeth Conference, upon another lesson to the Anglican Communion in tactical mobility upon well-considered lines. One of these northern missionary dioceses contains to-day 1,100 people, including every race, white, red and Esquimaux. There is no chance whatever of increase. Compare this with the millions which will soon be found upon the prairie south of  $55^{\circ}$ . To continue the naval metaphor—it would seem not unnatural to detach a few fast cruisers for the northern regions, in the shape of travelling missionaries, whilst the battleships are brought down as a general rule to face more serious dangers. The obvious distribution of forces at one time may be changed to another and equally obvious distribution at a later date. There may be some, of course, to whom white problems appear wanting in interest, just as some see no beauty in prairie scenes: let it be remembered, however, that nowhere in the world is there a more distinctly missionary problem, affecting Japan and China just as much as England, as is

presented for speedy solution to the Canadian Church to-day, for we are one Body.

*British Columbia.*—It seems almost natural to speak of British Columbia as of a region hardly Canadian, because it differs so much from the east, yet the day is coming when this wonderful region will be one of the choice places of the earth. The great railways which seem to begin in France, appear to end in the British Isles. The climate is like that at home, the scenery incomparable, the resources beyond any one's knowledge yet. It touches three ranges of mountains each with its own charm and distinctiveness—the Rockies, the Selkirks, the Cascades. Who can put a limit to its river produce or to its coal mines and stores of precious metals? Its whole coast line for some 1,000 miles appears to consist of natural harbours. Its day for a great population is coming when the prairie is filled, for naturally a land of dense forests cannot be settled as quickly as a region that needs no clearing. No one brought up in the mother land can help leaving a large part of his heart in British Columbia; and when the two new railways burst through the hills and touch the Pacific, perhaps five years hence, then "things will happen." Meanwhile the dioceses have small populations, and the only great centre of population is Vancouver. Ere long we are to have the biography of "Father Pat," a household name among the miners of British Columbia—the Dolling of that region—adored at Rossland and elsewhere—we look forward eagerly to Mrs. Mercier's book. It was in Mr. Fynes Clinton's church in Vancouver that I saw "the oldest font in the world" and was struck by the poetry of its conception. This region is covered with boulders polished in the glacial period and varying from one hundred tons to two or three. Mr. Clinton put a granite boulder, found on the spot and weighing about four tons, on a pedestal and cut the heart out of it so that you might immerse several babes in it at once. There it stands, a cyclopean font on which any carving seemed to me desecration. Is it not an idea worth carrying out elsewhere? In one particular, perhaps in one only, the problems of British Columbia and of Queensland are alike. Both regions must face the aliens question and

solve it for the Church of God within the Anglican Communion, alongside of our American brethren in California. No one who has experienced what a perfect servant a good Chinese can be can think of their departure from British Columbia without a sigh, without asking whether it is right, just or expedient.

*Education.*—In Canada, as elsewhere, this question exercises Churchmen. In the east, where the French Canadians predominate, a denominational religious system is possible. But as soon as we reach Toronto we have entered the area of secular schools, no religious training being given, the system being identical I think with that in the States. There is no doubt that nothing unifies a nation more than a common school system, but Churchmen ask sadly how much is lost when religion is left out altogether. At Toronto, on the borderland between the two countries, we hear of the difference between a religious and a secular training. Children are to be found to whom the idea of religion permeating all life is an idea absolutely novel. They have not grown up with instincts of religion or of the atmosphere of duty as the will of God. I heard also some sad criticisms of the system of co-education where it prevails all through school life. "A girl," said one who ought to know, "loses at fifteen under the co-education system something she never gets back; it is like the bloom being rubbed off. I am not sure that the boy gains anything by it: I am sure the girl loses infinitely by not living a sheltered life from fifteen to eighteen." The Canadian system of secular education seems to be excellent, and the discipline very good. I shall not forget the effect of the striking of the fire-bell in a school of 600 children in a public school at Edmonton without previous notice. Hardly had the third stroke been struck than there was heard all over the building a hum as of bees. In two more seconds every staircase was full of boys and girls walking swiftly two and two down to the doors and into the playground, the doors being held open by boys. The head teacher came up to the clergyman, who is also a trustee, who struck the bell, saying—"Sixty seconds—six seconds too long; but we have one or two new teachers and a hundred new children."

These are but the reflections of one who spent six weeks in this great country, but it was after reading for six months every book on Canada upon which he could lay his hands ; that wonderful land with such lakes, mountains, rivers, prairies, forests, with such a mixture of races, with a northern fence consisting of mysterious stretches of country leading up to the North Pole, with extremes of heat and cold, with an autumn that flashes into such colour that no painter can put it on canvas. In such a land the church of God must have a great mission, and the work of fifty years must be done in five if we are not to fail grievously.

H. H. MONTGOMERY (Bishop).

### CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AFGHAN.

To describe the characteristics of the Afghan is as difficult as to describe the characteristics of the European, for amongst the many different peoples that together represent the Afghan nationality there is quite as much divergence in those qualities that make for character as would be found amongst the varied nations of Europe. It is not easy to define the Afghan, for the name Afghan is not recognised by any of the inhabitants of Afghanistan, Afghanistan itself being merely a geographical definition, denoting a certain space of Asia to which we have set political boundaries. If we accept any one tribe within those political boundaries as representing the Afghan, we shall probably find representatives of exactly the same tribe or people outside of Afghanistan. We will, however, for the purposes of this article consider Afghanistan simply as the country ruled over by the Amir from Kabul, and the Afghan as the inhabitant of that country.

Taking the people as a whole they all represent about the same degree of civilised progress. They live under much the same conditions of physical life and environment, and thus, independently of their varied origin, they have acquired certain characteristics in common which we may be pretty certain to find more or less developed throughout the country. Afghanistan being a mountainous country on the whole, all Afghans possess the same love of a free and active life that is characteristic of mountaineers all the world over. They seem hardly yet to have emerged from the nomadic stage of human existence. The conditions of social existence among them are invariably tribal, although the official government is feudal. The village "punchayat" or local council is a recognised institution, quite as much as the "kazi" or magistrate appointed by the

Government ; the "mullah" or priest (for all Afghans are Mohammedans) having more or less influence over the village community according to circumstances.

Amongst other characteristics common to all Afghan tribes is a certain readiness for action—a fighting proclivity, which is doubtless acquired by heredity. This quality is an important factor in a nationality which depends for its existence on its capacity to protect its own ; but it is a quality which is only strongly in evidence in Afghanistan under certain conditions of time and circumstance. During that part of the year when the earth has to be tilled, and preparations made for the harvest, or whilst the increasing warmth of the atmosphere is bringing crops to the ripening, or even later, when the autumn gathering in of the fruits of the soil takes place, there is no better, more peaceably disposed and industrious husbandman than the Afghan. In all the arts of irrigation and making the most of a scanty water supply he is superior to the Persian, quite equal to the Chinaman, and far ahead of the Dutchman. Under such conditions it is small wonder that Afghanistan is as highly cultivated a country (considering the comparatively restricted cultivable area) as exists in the world. But when the harvest is gathered in, and the autumn wind sweeps clouds of dust over the bare fields, and when the biting frost fastens its iron grip on to the surface of the land, then is the Afghan's time for action and enjoyment. He fills his pockets with dried mulberries, and his sack with tough "roti" (bread) and, unslinging his jezail from the wall, he is off to the nearest field of activity to which he may be called by his mullah or to which his own predatory instincts may carry him. Such are national characteristics common to all Afghans ; personal characteristics vary considerably with the origin of the particular tribe. On the whole we may say that the grace of hospitality is common to all, as is also a certain chivalrous idea of the responsibilities entailed by the host. If a man who holds the position of a gentleman amongst Afghans pledges his word to see to the safety of a stranger, he would sooner lose his life than break his word, so long as that stranger is within his gates ; although this is considered compatible with open enmity as soon as the duties of host have been



fulfilled. This is a characteristic trait on which the writer has often relied during the prosecution of explorations on the frontier, without once having had occasion to regret his confidence. To quote one instance. During the winter of 1878-79, before the British force found itself compelled to act on the defensive within the walls of Sherpur, the field was fairly open for a geographical reconnaissance of unknown districts around Kabul. One of the European staff of surveyors was permitted to work over a part of the Ghilzai country under the guidance of a certain chief named Sadu, who, with his brother Dadu, had long been a terror to our weakly held line of communication. Suddenly, without much warning (the crops having been gathered in), there came that sudden concentration of tribespeople from the four quarters of Afghanistan, which drove the British force into Sherpur. The storm rose rather unexpectedly, and more than one outlying exploring party was caught in the first breeze. Sadu, however, was as good as his word—in fact rather better, for he was badly wanted to head a section of the Ghilzais in the attack on Sherpur. He had the grace personally to conduct the surveyor to the gates of Sherpur at considerable risk and inconvenience to himself, and saw him into safety, before rushing off post haste to organise his own gang. The subsequent action of Sadu was rather amusing. He lost a valuable horse, and a magnificent green puggaree (head dress) during the fighting which followed; and when, finally, the British position was secure and the tribespeople settled down again peacefully for a time, he sent in a bill for compensation for these two valuables which was, alas, ungratefully ignored by Sir Frederick Roberts. Sadu finally was killed in a true Afghan foray—peace be to the ashes of an honest robber.

As regards religious fanaticism among the Afghans one can only say after considerable experience that it is very unequally distributed. It is in the first place confined to the Sunni sect of Mohammedans. Among the Shiahhs there is no fanaticism observable, and the Shiahhs embrace some very important tribes within the boundaries of Afghanistan. The Hazaras (a remarkably fine race of Mongolian origin) are Shiahhs, so are the Kizzilbashs, a

race of Persian origin in Kabul, and the Turis, immediately on our own frontier, who together form a very powerful community. On the whole, among the Sunnis, the most fanatical tribes will be found to be those recently converted to the faith of Islam, *i.e.* those which lie on the fringe or borders of Kaffiristan. But the tribes of South-western Afghanistan also exhibit far greater religious intolerance than do those of the north and east, about Kabul. These south-western people belong chiefly to the Durani section of the Afghans, to which the Amir himself belongs, and they are undoubtedly the ruling race, the true Afghan stock of the country. Their origin is uncertain, but they claim to be Ben-i-Israel, and it is exceedingly difficult to combat the arguments which (in the absence of any written history) they adduce in support of this contention. From a geographical point of view this would appear probable enough, for Southern Afghanistan and Baluchistan are full of the descendants of Semitic emigrants from Syria. Between Syria and Afghanistan lies one of the world's highways. Such evidence as is afforded by the unwritten code of Afghan law, by Semitic nomenclature, and by the unmistakably Semitic caste of the Durani Afghan's features, all point to an Israelitish origin. The writer has heard the subject argued out with great ability by a local authority in the person of Ghulam Haidar, the late Amir's Commander-in-Chief in Kaffiristan, and undoubtedly the Afghan had much to say in support of his views which it was impossible either to controvert or to deny. One could only ask, If the Durani Afghan is not Ben-i-Israel, what is he? and how comes he by his Mosaic traditions and law? There is a section of the Durani Afghans occupying districts outside of Afghanistan which keeps a feast of which the ritual is remarkably suggestive of the Passover. However that may be, it is certainly a fact that fanaticism leading to outrage and isolated attack on Europeans (the action of the Ghazi) is a characteristic of the Durani rather than of the Ghilzai. The latter is an undoubted Turk of Central Asiatic origin, as fine a physical specimen of humanity as can be met with, a most powerful factor on the general Afghan community, a trader, a traveller, always a robber, but seldom a fanatic.

There was a time when a small British force was once again in straits—this time in Western Afghanistan on the far away Herat border. The "Panjdeh incident" had compelled us to cross the Afghan border into Persia, and things looked black for the chance of settling the boundary dispute with Russia, the settlement of which had taken us so far north. As time wore on and political complications became yet more complicated we were finally warned from home that war was "inevitable," and Herat must cover the best stand we could make against the first rush of attack. It was an important crisis, not only in that forgotten history, but as an illustration of an Afghan characteristic that is also forgotten. It was then that the Afghan rose to the occasion. Then, for the first time, we learned the important lesson that the Mohammedan Afghan will cordially welcome the assistance of that Government which rules the greatest Mohammedan communities in the world, in the defence of his own country against foreign aggression. There was no half-heartedness about the energy which the Amir threw into the preparations for a possible relief of Herat; none whatever about the effective gathering of the people from the country side to assist the soldiers in the construction of earthworks and gun emplacements, the clearing up of everything which might hinder the defence, even to the destruction of a magnificent mosque and the sweeping away of century-old cemeteries and the débris of ancestral tombs. The Afghan worked with a laugh and a will, and he was as ready to follow the lead of the English officer as a Sikh or a Ghurka. But it may be noted that while the whole Herat country side was denuded of workmen to assist the Durani soldier, the personal escort of the English officers superintending these operations was drawn from Kabul—a sufficient indication of the faith of the late Amir himself in the comparative freedom from religious fanaticism which distinguishes the Kabulli.

One word has often been applied to the Afghan generally as a distinguishing characteristic which requires consideration—*i.e.* the word "treacherous." Is the Afghan abnormally treacherous in the strict sense of that word? We know that he will not break the faith entailed by the

rights of hospitality as an individual, even though he may suffer loss and inconvenience by the keeping of that faith. If he is personally treacherous, his treachery is often tempered by a fine sense of chivalry. But the frequent massacres which have occurred in recent history as the result of internal dissensions or external policy, although they have not necessarily involved the breach of any personal contract, have too often been the result of careful pre-arrangement to escape altogether from the category of national treachery. What may be termed "official" treachery of this nature was common enough amongst the civilised nations of the world a few centuries ago, and is common to almost all Orientals at the present time. It indicates nothing abnormal in the methods of Afghan politics, and it must be admitted that there is often a moral twist in the Afghan code of political honour which it is difficult to reconcile with any ideal of straightforward honesty of purpose. Whilst there are Afghan gentlemen with as true a sense of personal honesty and fair play as is maintained by any of the distinguished Mohammedan gentlemen in India who live their straight lives untouched by reproach, it must be admitted that amongst the mass of the Afghan people any method employed to outwit a personal foe is regarded as being just as creditable as similar "slimness" is amongst the Boers, and the nice distinctions between that which is admissible and that which is dishonourable are often drawn too fine for the crude European intellect to follow. Let us take an instance. The late Amir was by no means personally hostile to Englishmen. He could make himself not only agreeable, but distinctly useful as a personal friend. Indeed, the influence of personal friendship is perhaps exceptionally strong amongst Afghans. Had Lord Mayo lived longer, for instance, it is probable that we should never have found ourselves at war with Sher Ali ; and Abdur Rahman also showed on occasions an interest in individual Englishmen which might almost be termed personal friendship. But he hated our interference with his boundaries. Especially did he hate our setting a limit to his ambitions as regards Kaffiristan, and the division of that country from Chitral. It is true that he assented to an agreement defining his

boundaries, but he assented with a true Afghan reservation as to putting all difficulties possible in the way of a practical settlement. The settlement was at once complicated by frontier risings in which his hand was not at first apparent. Trouble set in in Chitral, and a small company of British troops was besieged in that place by a half-armed Chitrali mob. But at the same time another English party was busy defining the boundary agreed upon between Kaffiristan and Chitral—actually in the same valley—under the safe guidance of his Commander-in-Chief Ghulam Haidar Khan. That party was as safe as if it had been within Indian borders. An accident to any member of it would probably have been paid for by the head of Ghulam Haidar himself. Thus when it became necessary for a small expedition, including two English officers, to penetrate into Kaffiristan (then at war with Afghanistan) in order to fix certain points on the boundary, a thousand well-equipped Afghan troops were sent in support of the expedition; and it is a remarkable fact that at least half of them ascended to the snowy ridges from the pine-clad summits of which one could look down into shadowed depths where was hidden the little fort of Chitral in which a small garrison of friends were struggling for existence. Now it is certain that all our efforts to communicate with those friends were deliberately defeated by Ghulam Haidar himself under the Amir's orders, whilst it is no less certain that the Chitrali mob were most effectually assisted by Afghan riflemen from our own escort, who put a vigour into the siege which it would never otherwise have possessed. So far as the Afghan soldier was concerned, his general sense of light-hearted irresponsibility would render him equally happy whether safeguarding Englishmen against the Kaffir, or besieging the Englishmen inside the mud walls of the Chitral fort. He had no sort of personal interest in either beyond the delight of immediate action. Fanaticism had nothing to do with it. But what are we to say about the policy of the late Amir? We can only call it treacherous. And yet it seems to us that the policy of helping one's country's enemies (which is not unknown in the West) is a yet more evil phase of treachery than helping the enemies of one's ally as practised in the East.

T. H. HOLDICH.

## THE PROGRESS OF CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA AND MISSION STRATEGY.

THE rapid progress of Christianity in India at the present day is an undeniable fact. If we refer to the last Government census taken in 1901, we find that during the ten years from 1891 to 1901 the native Christian population of the Indian Empire increased twenty times as fast as the population as a whole. The native Christians increased at the rate of 30·8 per cent., while the population as a whole increased at the rate of 1·5 per cent. It is true that these ten years were somewhat abnormal, as four of them were years of famine, when the native Christians were protected from the disastrous effects of scarcity far more carefully than the rest of the population ; but, if we take a period of thirty years, from 1871 to 1901, the census returns show that the rate of increase of the native Christians was 113·8 per cent. as against an increase of under 15 per cent. for the whole population.

The progress of the Christian Church in India, therefore, is a fact beyond question ; but when we come to look more closely into details there are several features in this rapid increase of the Christian population which deserve attention.

To begin with, it is noticeable that the increase has taken place in the villages, not in towns and cities, and at the bottom, not at the top of the social scale. We might have expected *à priori* that Christianity would spread first in the large towns and cities and among the educated classes, where men's minds have been prepared for the reception of Christianity by contact with a Christian civilisation and the influence of Western education. But, on

the contrary, the main victories of the Christian Church have been won all over India in villages, and among the lower strata of Hindu society. A few of the higher castes have become Christians, but the great mass of the converts during the last half-century have belonged to the lower castes or the aboriginal tribes. This is very marked in South India, where the large increase of the Christian community during the last twenty years is almost entirely due to a great movement towards Christianity on the part of the pariahs or outcastes of Hinduism in village districts. Out of a total of 116,000 native Christians belonging to the Church of England at the present time in the diocese of Madras (including the bishopric of Tinnevely and Madura), over 100,000 live in villages. And out of an increase of 35,000 during the last twenty years, 20,000 belong to the outcaste pariahs in the Telugu country, and 9,000 to the Shanars of Tinnevely. The same is true in the diocese of Travancore and Cochin. During the last twenty years there has been an increase of over 22,000 in the number of the Christians belonging to the Church of England in those two States, and the vast majority of them have been drawn from the outcastes of Hinduism. The same facts meet us all over India. Wherever there has been any considerable progress during the last fifty years, it has been in village districts such as Tinnevely, Chhota Nagpur, Santhalia, Ahmadnagar, and among the lower sections of Hindu society, while the number of conversions among the higher castes and educated classes or in the cities has been inconsiderable.

Then, again, if we inquire into the history of the missions in which any large number of converts have been gathered into the Church, we shall find that almost universally some powerful social cause has been at work to bring about the movement towards Christianity. In Chhota Nagpur it was the oppression of the landlords; in Tinnevely the moral effect of a great famine; in the Telugu districts, the States of Travancore and Cochin, and the district of Ahmadnagar, the tyranny of the Brahmans and caste people over the poor, degraded pariahs; in other districts the desire for education and social advancement. It would be unjust to stigmatise these motives which lead

large masses of men in India to embrace Christianity as altogether low and unworthy. The Christian Church in India, in vivid contrast to Hindu society, comes forward as the champion of the poor, the oppressed, and the outcastes, and men judge Christianity by its fruits. I do not think that we should condemn them for doing so. At the same time we must freely recognise the fact that it is not the pure, spiritual truths of Christianity that have so far attracted the majority of our converts to the Church. They do not become Christians from an earnest desire to be saved from their sins or win eternal life, but because the Christian Church presents itself to them as a refuge from oppression and misery and as a power that makes for righteousness.

But, once more, these movements towards Christianity are very sporadic, and often take place when and where they are least expected. Famines are of constant occurrence in the various mission districts of India, and whenever they occur Christian missionaries take an active part in the relief of the people; but it is only here and there that they result in larger conversions to Christianity, and it is difficult to say why a famine should have led to the conversion of 40,000 converts in Tinnevely, when the same cause leads to no such result elsewhere. There are pariahs and outcastes all over India, but it is only in certain districts that the pressure of caste tyranny drives them into the Christian Church. No doubt there are subtle causes which account for the fact that apparently similar conditions produce such different results in different parts of India, but it is not easy to detect them, and it is impossible at any time to predict *à priori* the exact course which the progress of Christianity will follow in the future. "The Spirit bloweth where it listeth." We hear the sound and can see the results, but we cannot tell whence it is likely to come and whither it is likely to go. Again, the progress of Christianity in India is seen, not only in numbers, but in its influence upon life and character. I know that this is often denied, and that sometimes even missionaries take a despondent view of the moral and spiritual state of the Christian community. The Rev. J. Sharrock, writing in *The East and the West*, October 1906, says that one of the most depressing circum-



stances connected with the mass movements that have taken place in recent years is the "terrible state of stagnation" into which the Christians soon fall after their conversion. But this only amounts to saying that the hardest work of the Church among these masses of converts begins after their conversion. They come over to Christianity from mixed motives, and need a long process of moral and spiritual education after they have been baptized. If, therefore, they are left to themselves after conversion, and no care is taken to build them up in faith and morality, inevitably they will sink into that state of apathy and stagnation which Mr. Sharrock deplures. But, taking a broad view of the Christian community in India during the last fifty years, its advance in education, discipline, and all that makes for social progress has been most marked.

And whatever ground there may be for Mr. Sharrock's statement, that "the dead hand of Hinduism is over the Church in South India as a whole, paralysing its energies, and poisoning its sources of life and strength," it is still true that nowhere is the progress of the Christian community as a whole more noticeable than in South India. Certainly, in the Telugu country, the improvement of the pariahs after their conversion to Christianity during the last thirty years has been very striking. If we compare them with an ideal standard of Christian life and conduct the result may be disappointing; but if we compare what they are now, as Christians, with the standard of pariah life and conduct among the Hindus, we may well thank God and take courage. And even where the Christian community has been numerically stagnant during the last thirty years, as in the city of Madras and the district of Tinnevely, the progress in education, self-government, and self-support has been conspicuous. Mr. Spurgeon is reported to have said that he would never believe that Christianity had touched a man's heart till it touched his pocket. We may, perhaps, reverse the statement and say that the effect on the pocket is not a bad sign of the effect on the heart. Applying this test to our Tamil congregations in Madras and Tinnevely, the result is most encouraging. The following table of statistics will clearly

## THE PROGRESS OF CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA 25

show the remarkable increase in their contributions for religious purposes during the last twenty years :—

	Number of Christians.	Contributions. Rs.
Madras (City), 1885 . . .	3,500	4,500
" " 1905 . . .	4,400	8,800
Tinnevely and Madura, 1885 . .	75,000	56,000
" " " 1905 . .	84,000	81,000

And this does not represent the whole of the facts. In 1905, besides paying their own expenses almost entirely, the congregations connected with the C.M.S. in Tinnevely sent to England the munificent donation of £500 to help pay off the deficit in the society's funds. And two years ago the Christians in Tinnevely belonging to the Church of England formed the first purely native missionary society which has existed in India since the days when the Syrian Christians on the Malabar coast were a missionary power. They subscribe Rs. 2,400 (£160) a year and manage the society themselves; they have sent out two Tamil missionaries to an unoccupied tract of country in the Nizam's dominions, and are also supporting seven local Telugu evangelists from their own funds. The statistics of the Telugu Mission give similar results :—

	Baptized Christians.	Contributions. Rs.
Telugu Missions, 1885 . . .	8,700	3,800
" " 1905 . . .	29,300	13,800

And when we remember the deep poverty of the people (the average income of each family is not more than eight shillings a month) the liberality of their contributions is very remarkable. I doubt whether the labourers of most country parishes in England contribute anything like so much in proportion to their incomes for religious purposes, though they have inherited the Christian training and traditions of a thousand years.

But now these facts suggest one or two serious reflections with regard to what I may call our mission strategy.

a. In the first place, we must not assume that our work is done when we have gathered masses of converts into the Church, nor must we expect that they will at once be filled with spiritual life and power. That has been too often the mistake made in the past. If we inquire into the

history of the mass movements of the last century we shall find that the reason why they first stopped and then resulted in "apathy and stagnation" is simply that they were not followed up. We may take as illustrations of this the history of the S.P.G. missions among the aboriginal tribes of Chhota Nagpur, the Karens of Burmah, and the pariahs in Ahmadnagar and the Telugu country. In all of these missions the same process has gone on. A great mass movement began about forty or fifty years ago. The staff of missionaries was hopelessly inadequate for the task and was not increased in proportion to the work. The result was that the movement was checked for want of labourers to gather in the harvest, and the education of the Christian converts was fatally hindered. We must remember then that when the converts have been gathered in the most difficult part of the work begins, a work that requires the greatest patience, wisdom, and firmness. If we expect converts from the lower strata of Hindu society to exhibit at once a high ideal of Christian life and character, we shall be grievously disappointed. What we have a right to expect is that the influence of Christianity will be seen in a gradual elevation of moral conduct and a steady improvement in education and social life. And this is precisely what we do find, wherever the converts are properly cared for and judiciously trained from the moment of conversion. But if they are once allowed after conversion to sink down to a state of apathy and indifference, and adopt a stereotyped form of nominal Christianity, it becomes ten times more difficult to arouse their moral and spiritual energies and set them forth along the path of progress.

b. In the second place, we require far greater mobility in our mission forces, and far more generalship in concentrating them where they are needed. Whenever a movement towards Christianity takes place in any part of India, there should be a prompt concentration of force upon the vulnerable spot. And as soon as experience shows that a particular position is, for the time being, impervious to attack, the forces should be partially withdrawn and sent to press home the assault on weaker points of the enemies' line. St. Paul did not keep on preaching the gospel to people who would not listen. On

the contrary, he shakes off the dust of his feet with an almost startling promptitude, and, when the Jews refuse to accept the gospel, turns at once to the Gentiles. Our own policy in India presents a striking contrast to the policy of St. Paul. The Church seems always to be about twenty years behind its opportunities, largely because we persist in spending our best energies year after year in preaching the gospel to people who show no readiness to accept it. The present disposition of our forces in India is a striking illustration of this policy. Four of our strongest and best-equipped missions are established in Calcutta, Cawnpore, Delhi, and Poona. In these four missions there are altogether twenty-eight of our ablest and most devoted missionaries, forty ladies, besides a number of well-equipped hospitals and schools. And in all these four places the Christian community has been almost entirely unprogressive for the last thirty years. The number of converts made by all four missions together during the last quarter of a century would not amount to more than a thousand, if as many. And the number of Christians trained and cared for by this large staff of missionaries only amounts to about 3,000.

But what a contrast this presents to the state of the S.P.G. Mission in the Telugu country, to take but one example out of many! Here we have a really remarkable movement among the pariahs of Hindu society, which has been in progress now for over thirty years. During the last twenty years the number of Christians in communion with the Church of England in these districts has risen from 10,000 to 30,000, and last year the number of converts was over 5,000, and there seems no likelihood of the movement stopping. It is due to the pressure of great social causes, which will increase in strength as the Christian Church grows in numbers and influence. Here, then, is a great opportunity. In this Telugu country there are about two million pariahs ready and waiting to be gathered into the Church and capable of being built up into a strong and vigorous Christian community. We have found here one of the weak points in the Hindu position; and yet our attack at this point is of the feeblest

character. In the S.P.G. Mission, with 12,000 baptized Christians and over 2,000 converts a year, there are only six European missionaries, two native priests, no ladies sent out by the C.W.W. at all, and only one dispensary, with no European doctor. If only an adequate force had been sent to this mission—as it ought to have been sent twenty years ago—the 12,000 Christians might have been 30,000 and the number of converts every year might be 10,000 instead of 2,000. Yet here we are, pounding away with twenty-eight men and forty women at places where there is a very small response, and letting slip this splendid opportunity of building up a large and vigorous Christian community. I do not mean for one moment to imply that these four important missions have failed and done no good. On the contrary, they have done a great deal during this last twenty-five years to spread among the educated classes in North India a leaven of Christian ideas and sentiments: but my point is that, however valuable this work may be, it is not to be compared in importance with the gathering in of two million people into the Christian Church; and I feel convinced that by far the best way to influence and convert the educated classes in India is to convert and elevate the pariahs and outcastes. For the time being it doubtless makes it ten-fold harder for them to enter the Christian Church; but in future years the fact that Christianity is emphatically a gospel to the poor and oppressed will do far more than all the lectures and addresses in the world to bring home to the best conscience of India the truth of the Gospel and the power of the living Christ.

HENRY MADRAS.

## MISSION WORK AMONGST THE EDUCATED CLASSES IN INDIA.

THE difficulty of writing anything about India increases with every year that one lives in the country. It is impossible for us Europeans to know the Hindu at all intimately, but this impossibility only dawns upon us gradually, and for a long time we think we are making progress in the science. Then some fine day reveals to us the depths of our ignorance, and we begin with shame to try and master the alphabet. If we get to words of one syllable before our course is finished we may count ourselves good scholars. Hence the attempt to gauge the progress of missions is one which I am always reluctant to make, and I cannot think that the proposal which has sometimes been made to send out an inspecting body to report would be applicable to this country, however valuable it might be elsewhere. Missionaries would by no means shrink from inquiry, but they would doubt whether any visitor from outside could tell them more of the effect of their work than they know themselves, and that is very little. There is only one person who could do it, and that is Mr. Rudyard Kipling.

It must be said at once that the number of converts from Hinduism and Mohammedanism is extremely small. With regard to these two religions there cannot at present be said to be an open door, but rather a brick wall. A few years ago a call to prayer was issued by several of the leading missionary societies in India on the ground that the number of annual converts was scarcely greater than the number of mission workers. This fact is hardly realised by people in England, and perhaps no very great effort has been made to realise it ; but it is better that it should be faced, and it need not imply any discouragement on the part of those who know that the condition of open doors is con-

tinued knocking. How then, at the decennial censuses, do our statistics manage to make a show which is at least respectable? Because besides the Hindus and Moham-medans, numbering some 260,000,000, there are some 10,000,000 who belong to neither of these great religions, but are in the earlier stage which is generally called "Animistic," and it is from these chiefly that converts are made. Such are the Kols of Chhota Nagpore, the Sepchas of Sekkim (Darjeeling), the Santhals of Bengal, the Gonds and Bheels of Central India, also a considerable number of pariahs are annually gathered in. Even, however, with the help of these races the Christians in India in 1891 did not amount to one per cent. of the population. Many instances could be named of zealous missionaries who have worked away for ten or even twenty years without gaining a single convert.

It would, however, be an entire mistake to measure the influence of Christianity in the country by these figures. Nothing is more common than, as one travels about Bengal, to get into conversation with some native fellow-traveller who by-and-by tells you he would like to be a Christian, but is withheld by family considerations. True, the majority of these will never have the courage of their convictions, but they are doing something to leaven the mass of opinion around them, and will make it more possible for their children to emancipate themselves from their traditions. Perhaps it would be of some interest if in this paper I were to sketch what those traditions are, by way of showing how far the Hindu has to travel before he can become a Christian. Take the case of a young lad or twenty, a student in the Calcutta University. He may not know very much about his own religion, but two things have been drunk in by him unconsciously from childhood with the very air he breathes—pantheism and a belief in transmigration. The result of the former is to beget a rooted scepticism as to any fundamental difference between good and evil. He uses all the conventional terms; he gives a courteous assent to all that you can say on the subject of sin. But it is

Tale tuum carmen nobis, divine poeta,  
Quale sopor fessis in gramine, quale per aestum  
Dulcis aquae saliente sitim restinguere rivo.

That is perhaps the real difficulty. It is often difficult enough to arouse the sense of sin in those who have been brought up under the Christian dispensation, but there the preacher feels that he has on his side that which is most fundamental, that which is most deep-rooted in the man's own conviction, however much it has been overlaid by habit or sophistry. But here the reverse is the case. Religion comes in to reinforce not the truth of human nature as it is meant to be, but the lie of fallen nature as it is. The present writer had once to deal with a Hindu who was a drunkard—a somewhat rare experience, it must be gladly acknowledged. The man came himself, eager to receive help to overcome his besetting sin, and for a time he seemed to be overcoming it. But one day he fell back completely, and the reason he gave was that a pundit had told him that as God does everything in us there could be no difference between good and evil. "Why did you believe him?" "He was a great pundit, well versed in shastras; how could I contradict him?"

Such is the deadening effect of pantheism. A God who is not personal cannot be moral; and as our God is so we are. Creed and character are sometimes supposed to be capable of being permanently disjoined; but when you see them on a large scale—in nations, not in individuals—their inseparability is manifest, and then, as though pantheism alone were not enough to sap away all moral effort, it is invariably associated with the doctrine of transmigration, which tells the Hindu that we have not one life only to live, in which we must "find our happiness or not at all," but that he will have innumerable chances. This is one of the reasons why suicide is so painfully common in India, though another lies in the fact that it is directly encouraged by some of the sacred books. Life for the Hindu is not one strenuous moral effort based on the belief that "it is appointed unto men once to die, but after this the judgment," but a series of feeble loiterings towards a temporary goal.

These two beliefs, pantheism and transmigration, are deeply rooted in the mind of the Hindu, and they have all the authority which can be lent to them by the Scriptures which he reveres. Yet perhaps stronger than either, as a



practical belief, is the doctrine of fatalism—that dark and dismal creed to which Orientals seem necessarily to gravitate, based as it is on something more fundamental than their sacred books, namely on the vast forces of nature uninspired by the presence of a personal and loving God.

Next in order of the forces which warp the conscience of the Hindu I should place the caste system. The simplest statement of this is to be found in the laws of Manu—a sacred book in their eyes—that the Brahman is sprung from the mouth of the Deity, and the other three castes from his arms, thighs, and feet respectively. But in modern times it has branched out into a thousand ramifications, all embodying the idea that one class is separated from another by divinely sanctioned and impassable barriers. The force of this belief has as yet been very little broken throughout the country. According to this system the whole strength of religion is devoted to the production not of morals but of manners. The great questions are those of what we shall eat and with whom. Besides these, such things as truthfulness, honesty, purity, and justice are minor matters. If a man has been born into a caste of thieves it is fit and proper for him to remain a thief all his life ; if a woman has been born into the caste of prostitutes, a prostitute she is expected to remain. And not only is this the cause of direct evil in distorting the conscience, and substituting a whole class of conventional sins for the real breaches of the law of God ; it does even more in destroying the sense of personal responsibility. The member of a caste feels that he has only to act as his caste-fellows do, and he is in the right path. Even in Christians this sense of individual responsibility is only slowly and with difficulty restored, and “ I will do what the others do ” is the commonest answer to a question which ought to involve an assertion of the enlightened and invigorated will.

Next to this must be placed the influence of the sacred books. Of these there is an immense number, but the most popular are the great epics, the Ramayana, and the Mahabharata (including the Bhagavad-Gita). No doubt isolated passages can be quoted from them of great beauty and spirituality, and there are characters in them—that of

Sita, for instance—which have had an unbounded influence for good on the national ideal. But anybody who attempts to read them as a whole will quickly find himself bewildered by a mass of inconsistencies and absurdities, morals true and false jumbled together, gods noble and vile, men supposed to be incarnations capable of the most outrageous actions, lofty sentiments hob-nobbing with tawdry miracles. We may laugh at these poems and admire them by turn when we think of them simply as literature. But we have to remember that they are the Bible of a nation, and that on them men have formed and are forming their characters; and, on the whole, our judgments of these poems must be that of Plato in the “Republic”:—“We must suppress such fables, lest they engender in our young men a great aptitude for wickedness.”

It may be said, May it not safely be left to the young men themselves to discriminate between the good and the bad, the true and the false, in these productions? No! the historic sense and the logical sense are precisely what they lack, because there has been nothing in their indigenous education to feed them. Just as we cannot distinguish the motion of the earth because we have nothing with which to compare it, so the Hindu does not realise the shifting nature of his moral standard because all is moving together. He has no history, therefore all is history; he has no standard of truth, therefore all is true. He adopts eagerly the modern notion that every religion is equally good; he has no desire to convert us to his own, and he would like, if he might, to be an honorary member of ours. People at home have no idea what a priceless blessing they possess in the clear moral ideal which Christianity provides, confirming and reinforcing the testimony of conscience. In the Hindu, too, the natural conscience is not silent, but its utterances are exceedingly faint, and when they are heard they are frequently contradicted by those of religion, which latter contradict themselves.

But perhaps a greater cause than all these in producing—we do not say, badness of character—but want of character itself, want of individuality and responsibility, is the joint family system which prevails almost throughout the East. According to this system the sons who marry

bring their wives home, and husband and wife remain under the dominion of their parents or grandparents for the greater part of their lives. We could not say that the system has no advantages. Owing to it India has never stood in need of a Poor Law, and every remotest member of the family has a claim to support in the family home. Such a class as that of those single ladies on whom poverty often falls so piteously in Europe is impossible to conceive in India ; not only the women but the unemployed men also of the family live at the expense of the few wage-earners. But these advantages are dearly purchased. For the development of the individual, for the building up of character, the storm and stress of life are almost necessities, and never was the Divine Wisdom more justified than in the apparently harsh saying : " For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother and cleave to his wife." This weakness is recognised by the Indians themselves, and in proof of it we shall venture to make a somewhat long quotation from a recent number of the *Indian Messenger*, the organ of the Brahma Samaj in Calcutta :

" A thoughtful writer in the *Bangadarshan*, writing on the degraded social condition of Bengal about two years ago, assigned it mainly to ' the atrophy of the moral sense,' as the fundamental vice of our people. It is the fundamental vice, not only of Bengalis, but of Indians in general. Individuality is so little developed in us, that, in this respect, we are but children compared with the brave and robust races of the West. We habitually fear to differ with our neighbours, and when we do differ with them we take good care to hide our differences. We are afraid, not only of our elders and guides and the natural leaders of our society, but even of our equals and inferiors. As it is facetiously remarked of the Bengali, he is afraid, not only of his father and mother, but even of his *tempi pishi*—the tiny sister of his father. The Indian, in fact, never becomes socially independent. Manu says of women :— ' She is subject to her father in childhood, to her husband in youth and maturity, and to her sons in old age.' So may it be said of the typical Indian, that he is subject to his father in childhood and youth, to his friends in maturity, and to his neighbours and subordinates in his old age. The tyranny of society overpowers his individuality and keeps it under constant check. He is taught from his very infancy that religion consists in conforming to established usage. He is never taught to think freely or act freely.

Generally he is quite ignorant of the free thought that characterised Indian philosophers and of the occasional and mostly abortive free activity of ancient Indian reformers. He is, on the other hand, constantly taught that even the wisest men of the country have chosen to conform to popular usage. An old uncle of the present writer used to repeat, now and again, in order to check his youthful ardour for social reform, the inspiring couplet :

‘ *Yadi yogi trikalajnah samudra-langhana-kshamah,  
Tathapi laukikacharam manasapi na langhayet.*’

That is, ‘though one may be a *yogi*, all-knowing and able to leap over the sea, yet he should not, even in thought, go against popular usage.’ That is the teaching which the Indian receives in his most impressionable years from those to whom his education is entrusted. As a rule, he is never taught anything of *That* in him which gives rise to and therefore transcends all social usage. He learns nothing of that doctrine of Conscience which one meets with at every turn in Christian society and Christian literature. Lately, with the introduction of English education, he has indeed been hearing a good deal about free-thought and individual freedom, of the struggle between reformers and society and of the persecution and heroic death of thousands of Christian martyrs. But apart from the fact that, in public schools, he meets with such teaching only as so much literature, and that it is never sought to be impressed upon him by his teachers—apart from this defective teaching, we say—even the slight impression made by such teaching is more than neutralised by the more powerful influence of domestic teaching and example, by what the young people learn from the precepts and practical lives of their relatives and friends. They learn that the courage and freedom of moral heroes and reformers is good enough only as illustrations to be used in the essays they may write as students, and the addresses they may deliver as public speakers, but not at all good for imitation in domestic and social life. *There* they must always remain slaves of custom—slaves of ignorant women and selfish priests—however refined their own ideas may be, and however great may be the admiration they may show, in their political speeches and *Swadeshi* demonstrations, of the free institutions of Christian countries. They would directly learn from their teachers and professors, if they would only question them, that liberal ideas are only to be talked about and ‘demonstrated,’ but never carried into action ; and as to their guardians, there can be no mistake whatever of what they wish them to do. All freedom of action is systematically starved out and killed by the very economy of Indian homes and Indian society—freedom of action, not only in matters religious but in secular matters also. How many grown-up young men we

meet with—men who are graduates of Indian universities—who do not know what they will do with themselves when they leave college! 'We shall do what our guardians say'—is their habitual answer to every query about their future career. We read some time ago of a distinguished Indian scholar of the country who could not avail himself of a splendid opportunity to visit Europe because he could not get the consent of his orthodox relatives to this bold step. We read now of Mr. Tyagarayan, the Senior Wrangler, who, it is said, cannot follow his own natural bent in choosing his future career, because his father wishes him to enter the legal profession. These are only occasional and rather slight but not insignificant indications of the abject social tyranny under which the Indian lives. The fear of unpopularity, of persecution, of social excommunication, haunts him from childhood to old age and keeps him ever a coward or a hypocrite, or both. Conscience, disregarded and dishonoured at every step, speaks in him less and less every day till it sinks into practical silence. God is dethroned from the heart, and 'what people say' becomes the average Indian's only object of worship. Brahmoism calls upon us to shake off this double idolatry of custom and dead images. It calls upon us with a voice which seems yet 'still and small,' but which will, at no distant date, grow into a trumpet's call and rouse the whole nation."

Once more, the Hindu is full of a misguided patriotism, at present extremely rampant and likely to increase, which makes him reluctant to accept spiritual guidance from his Western conquerors, and of a pride not wholly unfounded in a system beside which that of Christianity seems but of yesterday. He has no natural affinity for the European ideal of character—strong in the active virtues, weak in the passive ones. There is a mutual repulsion between him and the Englishman, based as much on their respective good qualities as on their bad ones; for the Hindu has little real admiration for either moral or physical courage, and no Englishman at heart looks upon meekness as a virtue. Add to this the want of physical vigour, induced by the climate and sedentary habits, which must inevitably tell upon moral energy, and a strength of family affection—in this at least he is not to be numbered with the heathen of the first chapter of Romans—which most often proves the last impregnable barrier to conversion when everything else has given way, and you have a combination of qualities in view of which we need not wonder if

they should prove capable for generations of resisting the onslaught of Christianity.

But there are signs and indications that it will not resist for ever. I seem to have painted an unlovely picture, but the university student is not such an utterly impracticable creature as all this might seem to indicate. The influences which I have named are those which have presided over his birth and childhood ; they will probably come back upon him with returning force in manhood and old age. But between these two periods there is an interval—very short it must be confessed, not more than six or seven years at the most—when he is open to the appeal of other ideas. With the fewest possible exceptions, all the conversions which take place amongst educated people take place between the years of 18 and 25. Then it is that the unspoiled natural conscience, emancipated from family domination, and partly also from the distinctions of the caste system, has a chance of asserting itself. Then it is, if ever, that the mind begins to claim its prerogative of thinking for itself, stimulated by the great models which English education provides. Then it is that an historical sense begins to germinate, and some logical faculty which begets a dim notion that contradictory things cannot all be true. Then it is that the youth, if he should be fortunate enough to come under gentle and wise guidance, may be led into the paths of pleasantness and peace. True it is that the vast majority take a hasty and frightened glance into the large free pastures which are opened before them, and then start back again, overcome by the power of heredity and habit. But amongst them are to be found a few “laden souls,” who, not “by thousands,” but by ones and twos, “meekly stealing” turn their steps to the Kind Shepherd. It is to these favoured souls that we must look for the ultimate regeneration of India. The fewness of converts is in one sense an advantage, because it enables us to give the utmost individual attention to each one. The body of those who have not only become Christians, but have been “converted from the error of their way,” is a slowly but surely increasing one. Much more than in proportion to their numbers they are becoming a force in public opinion. They are changing the ideas of their

nation, destroying its intellectual idols, raising its conception of morals, making it ashamed of things which once passed without remark ; thus is being done in India that work of John the Baptist which is necessary in order to prepare the way of Christ.

There is still in Hinduism an immense force of resistance to Christianity, but it is the resistance of sandbags, not of walls or arms. The university student is not an unlovable being—his very weakness appeals to you—but a more totally ineffective being it is impossible to conceive. Of brain power he has a fair share—quite enough to enable him to pass examinations and to fill a useful post in an office. Of submission and resignation and a kind of cattle-like endurance he has plenty. But of individuality and character, of active faith and courage, power of initiative and a sense of responsibility—those qualities which so often make a European a force in the world, even when he is only a force for evil—he has almost none. They have been eaten out of him by his surroundings and religion. He is the product of a system so subtly and skilfully organised for offering a dead resistance to the grace of God, that it irresistibly suggests the presence of the master-mind of an organiser. Before he can be a fit subject for the influence of the Gospel there must be some long and steady bracing of the spiritual muscle, some stiffening of the moral backbone, some infusion, at least, of manliness sufficient to own himself beaten. This must be the work of the present generation of missionaries : it will be for another generation to gather in its fruits. “Show Thy servants Thy work, and their children Thy glory.”

E. F. BROWN.

**THE INDIAN EMPIRE AND THE  
CHURCH OF ENGLAND,  
OR SOME CLAIMS OF THE INDIAN EMPIRE ON  
THE CHURCH, AND THE CHURCH'S ANSWER.**

I VENTURE to give this title to my paper in spite of the fact that as far as actual experience is concerned, this paper is based on one part only of the Empire, viz. : Burma, for, *mutatis mutandis*, what I have to say will apply to India as a whole, and the differences will be of degree, not of kind. At any rate, in considering the Indian Empire, Burma, the largest province, must not be overlooked.

In England all Christians are agreed that a child while of school-going years should learn the truths of Christianity, in school or elsewhere. Lately, the mere fact that the child is at school has caused attention to be directed to the need of religious instruction.

My chief point is that our Indian Empire places the subject races in a school, and that the school is under our charge. We force them into it. We supply the teachers, the "books," and the most effective object-lessons.

1. We teach peace—at the point of the sword. In our Indian Empire we forbid race to make war against race, or tribe against tribe. We issue the order for peace, and the Arms Act makes it effective. The British ruler has taken the native's firearm out of his hand; his own he retains loaded and ever ready.

The lesson of peace is taught with or without the consent of the pupils.

2. We teach justice as understood by ourselves. Though native law, such as the Buddhist law in Burma, is not cast away, it is administered by us. The courts and processes are ours. Our conception of justice is not theirs,



but is that of the rulers. The uniform of the native policeman, half-Western and half-Eastern, is an illustration of this lesson to be met in every town.

3. We teach our commerce, and with it many of our Western needs. The whistle of the locomotive, the hoot of the steamboat, tins of Western foods found in remote bazars far from European residence, or in Dak bungalow, are familiar signs that this lesson is being taught. In the large towns it is most quickly learned. There the wealthy native, more able now than ever to accumulate capital without fear, lest force should rob him of it, becomes conscious of new needs—Western needs. The dogcarts, brougham, the motor-car and cycle, socks and shoes, newspapers and novels are, in Rangoon, no longer the mark of the European only. But the change which begins in the towns soon leaps municipal limits.

There is no compulsion, nor any need for it. Money as we know it in the West, and wants which it creates and meets are now in the land. To some extent these were there before our Empire, but we give them new power. Money and trade are powerful teachers, and the Eastern peoples are learning more of their power. Whatever power money may have had before for them—and in Burma it was singularly little, and is so still—it has much more to-day, and in course of time—who can doubt it?—a greater change than we see in the towns to-day will be worked throughout the country.

As for the Burman, in olden times he had but few uses for his money. He knew no bank. Hoards were difficult to preserve from the tax-gatherer who had to fill the coffers of the king. One use was always present, and praiseworthy. He could build a kyaung for the monks, or a pagoda, or a bridge for himself and others, and win for himself a name in the present, and a higher state of existence in the future.

But whether or no he adopt much or little of our Western uses of money, they are before him. In truth the externals of our Western life are in the land, and it is we who have brought them.

4. We teach our Western knowledge. The Government lavish inducements on the Burman to learn all that

we can teach from the syllabus of the elementary school up to the curriculum of the University of Calcutta.

I have met Burmans taught in a Buddhist school who had learned the Western knowledge required by the Government Education Code up to the seventh standard, and I have also met Burmans resident as students at Cambridge.

"Yes, I have been taught that the earth is not flat but round," said my Burmese servant one day to me at the end of a long conversation in which I vainly tried to convince him that our view is correct. "In a school taught by the monks," he said, "I passed the seventh standard." "What did the monks say?" "Oh, they told us to say (if asked in the examination) that it was round, because the English think it is. But we know better."

This was a country-bred boy who had spent ten years in the monastery, far from Rangoon; but even there our Western knowledge had touched him.

Anyone of any religion may open a school, and if his teaching fulfil Government requirements, *i.e.* if he teaches Western knowledge to the satisfaction of the inspector, he earns the Government grant. In fact, my "boy" having passed the required standard, set up a small school for himself, and earned the grant. He came to me for a short time only, and is now in a Government office.

The old aspiration after the dignity of Government service has lost none of its strength, and the road to this goal being acquaintance with certain branches of Western knowledge, is well provided with eager travellers.

*Numbers of Schools.*—These and other signs, *e.g.* the many Burmese barristers who learnt their law in London, are but signs of a wide movement. The most significant sign is given by the 19,000 or more schools of various kinds with nearly 350,000 scholars, where the teaching is under Government control, *i.e.* Western.

I say nothing of results. It is not my desire to attempt the *rôle* of a foreteller. My point is this, we have put the Burman into our school. The prizes for this lesson attract, the school is well filled.

5. One more lesson, and that the best which we are teaching. I mean the character of the British ruler.

"Did you get the month's wages due to you?" I asked a Burman. "No." "Did you ask for them?" "Yes." "Did you ask the English Thakin (master)?" "Oh, no. Had I seen him it would have been different. I saw only the Burmese clerk." His whole tone and bearing, besides his actual words, implied that the Englishman was always a man of honour.

If you keep a ready ear and eye, you need not reside long in Burma to see the fine qualities of our representatives there, from whom the Burman is coming to know a new type of character. It is one which combines power to command with justice, honour, truth, and unsparing generosity and care for the ruled.

There are, no doubt, other motives. There is a strong effort to develop trade. Revenue is largely considered. But the welfare of the people whom he rules is never far from the mind of the civil servant as I have found him. He has points which the clergy may criticise, but he deserves, and, I trust, wins our respect.

How does the Burman look on this new type of character? He acknowledges its claim on his respect. I wish that he looked on it as an example to be followed. His attitude, however, towards this new lesson is not now my concern. What is the Church's attitude?

We believe that the Englishman owes his best characteristics to Christian influences, those of home and Church and Bible. The Christian faith is the means by which this Christian character is produced. The power of God as revealed and brought to man by Christ is the source of its beginning, its maintenance, and its growth.

Is it then a matter of small concern to us whether or not the Burman, while he has the object lesson of this character placed before his eyes, has also shown to him the source and strength whence it springs and how it is maintained?

These are the chief lessons taught by us in our imperial school in India. I am not intent to discuss their suitability for the Eastern, or to estimate how far he values or grasps them. They are now offered to him, and there is no prospect of the withdrawal of the offer. My question is this: Has this school no claim on the Church at home? Do the

clergy give it its due place in their thoughts, and prayers and action ?

So far I have tried to lay stress on the fact of the existence of our great Imperial school, and to say little of results. Yet there is one result of our opening our school which must be mentioned. There are those who hold that in Burma it claims more attention than any other movement.

*The Hill Tribes.*—The Burman Buddhist occupies the plains, but there are hill tribes relatively few in number, yet virile, and with considerable readiness to accept Christianity. All told, they number perhaps a million and a half.

How does our school affect them? What is its first result? *It brings them into close touch with Buddhism, with the event that in the decade of 1891-1901 Buddhism in Burma made more rapid progress than Christianity.*

"How is this?" it may be asked. The answer is easy. All these hill tribes have been, and many still are, simple animists, who fear and try to propitiate evil spirits. In the past the Burman and they were no friends. The Burman by force of numbers drove the hill-man from the plains, and if ever the fertility of the lowlands attracted him forced him back to eke out a hard existence in the hills.

With our advent has come a great change. We have opened our school and taught peace. So the hill-man can have his old hill village, and dwell in peace in the plains. And down to the plains he is coming, and there he finds the Burman, his superior in number, power, and civilization. He adopts the Burmese dress: he learns more of his language than he knew before. What of his religion—his old animist beliefs? Will the beauty of the thousand pagodas, the high influence of the 50,000 or more Buddhist monks, and the fashionable tenets of popular Buddhism make no appeal to him at a time when he is ripe for change?

We know that the appeal is specially strong and successful, because it demands little alteration of his old animism. The result at present is this—down from the hills our rule is bringing these peoples. They are ready to learn a new and better religion, and *yet we leave the Burman Buddhist to be their only teacher.*

On Christmas afternoon, 1904, fifteen such men came to my house in Rangoon to ask for Christian teaching. They told me that they represented more than thirty villages, and some thousands who desired instruction. But their request only brought into prominence the fact that I had no one who could teach them and could be spared to dwell among them even for so short a time as six months.

We have so changed life in Burma, so vigorously enforced the lessons of peace and order, that we are introducing the animist hill-folk to the Buddhist plain-dwellers, and our Church is so forgetful of the opportunities and calls of the Empire that evangelists from ourselves to meet these ready hearers there are none, and Buddhism makes more converts than Christianity.

This is the case in Burma, and *mutatis mutandis* I believe it applies to the hill-tribes and lower classes of India. On this point I would rejoice to be corrected.

Our school removes barriers which formerly separated the animists from the greater non-Christian religions. By the action of our Empire they come into touch with these august faiths. Our question is, Will they come into touch with the Christian evangelist by the action of our Church? Do we, do the clergy really care whether these people at this period of change hear Christ's Gospel or Gaudama's "truths"? As judged by what the past years in Burma have to show, we care exceedingly little.

Let us now consider the teachers in this great school. Who are they? They come from Great Britain. In Burma, there are some 8,000 British civilians, soldiers, traders. Are there many missionaries among them? From the British Isles I doubt whether more than fifty (including ordained men, laymen, women-workers and wives of missionaries) come to Burma. All honour to other Christian bodies of the Continent and America. As I write, there are in Burma representing the missionary work of the Church of England nine clergy, the wives of two of these, three laymen, five unmarried women-workers—total nineteen. (This excludes those who are on sick leave or furlough, as do the figures of British residents given above.) Besides these but few missionaries hail

from Great Britain. The Wesleyans have a small but effective force.

I maintain that the circumstances of our Indian Empire constitute a clear call on the Church at home to provide that in our great school the teaching of Christianity is not omitted. This is a call not for dribblets of two or three men—on whom if we get them by spending our “holiday” in England in addressing and lecturing and preaching till we hurry off exhausted to Marseilles to catch the outward-bound liner, our friends and Church papers congratulate us—but for forces *ten times* as numerous as they are to-day.

Only by providing such forces, and by such sacrifices, can we expect to ensure that Great Britain, while putting the book of Western life open into the hands of her Eastern fellow subjects of King Edward, shall give also the opportunity of knowing the truth as it is in Jesus.

But again—these 8,000 British residents in Burma, and others of our race in other provinces, the teachers of the great school deserve special attention? Few at home realise the conditions of a native Christian in heathen surroundings, so few realise the position of the British in India.

Let the layman in Burma speak in this extract from an appeal for clergy sent to me to be published in England :

“The English-speaking population to whom these Chaplains minister have special claims on the Church for two weighty reasons :

“1. They have resided previously in England, and have been accustomed there to ample Church ministrations. . . . Passing as they do from the Christian atmosphere of Great Britain to the non-Christian surroundings of this country, with their particularly strong temptations, these members of our Church deserve increased, and not, as is threatened, diminished clerical ministrations.”

“2. Here the white men represent to the native Burman the religion of Jesus Christ. They are the rulers, the judges, the leaders of commerce. Their influence is very great. Therefore, not only for their own sakes, but for the sake of the non-Christian natives, the need of capable clergy is most urgent.”

The writers are ten gentlemen of whom the earliest arrived in Burma in 1870 and the latest in 1889. They

represent the judicial bench, the civil service, the law, and the medical profession of the province.

Their evidence is clear. The Englishman in Burma is in a position widely different from that which is his at home. He is much more tempted, and at the same time much more influential, for he ought to be the best object lesson of Christianity, the most powerful missionary among the thousands whom he rules.

"By all ye will or whisper,  
By all ye think or do,  
The silent sullen peoples  
Will weigh your God and you."

These are the two most prominent points of contrast with the position of the Christian at home which the laymen's letter gives. But the mere fact of its being written at all brings a third contrast into light.

We might expect that wise warriors for Christ, careful shepherds of His sheep, would at once be drawn to minister to such men as these. Surely with Christ's words before them about sheep scattered, about shepherds *going out to seek*, about stewards giving food in due season, the fact that these men, tempted yet inevitably representing or misrepresenting Christianity to millions, are in many cases not one or two or five miles distant from a Christian pastor (as is sometimes the case in Britain) but 20, 50, 100 miles or more—we might reasonably expect clergy, if not laity, to realise the glory of ministering to them. But has it been so?

Government chaplains are very hard to find. Lately the India Office had to ask the Bishop of London to help them, and as far as my experience goes the Bishop had little or no success.

Other clerical posts for ministry to Europeans in India tell a similar tale. In Burma shortly after Upper Burma was annexed and pacified, the Government recognised the need of clergy, and offered more than half the stipend and all the travelling expenses for a chaplain to visit certain stations on the Upper Irrawaddy—the laity guaranteed the rest. But from 1892 to February 1906 no priest was found to volunteer for this honourable and, I may add, delightful post.

In Rangoon, a great and "civilised" city, a European and Eurasian congregation who give £120 per annum towards the stipend of their chaplain, waited fifteen months for a man to come out from England. They waited in vain, and I had finally to place there one who had given himself for a life's work as missionary.

In Britain and elsewhere tales are rife of the lax living of the British in Burma, and no doubt they are not baseless. Certainly they were poured out to me *usque ad nauseam* before I left Cambridge for Rangoon.

But the past history of our work, as shown by the instances I have mentioned, give occasion for the question whether the Englishman in Burma has been less faithful to Christian morals than the Church to her pastoral duties.

Certainly these very tales are typical of many such calls which come from the colonies to challenge the faith and courage of shepherds at home, and some I know have felt and accepted the challenge. They are very few, but, I hope, an earnest of more to come.

To sum up.—1. The subject races in the Indian Empire are pupils in a great school. They are being taught all our Western knowledge and much of our Western life, but the teaching of Christianity is conspicuous by its absence or inadequacy. The school is our nation's opportunity.

2. The teachers come out from us. They ask for ministrations. They claim them by reason of their peculiar position far more strongly than when at home. But they receive far less.

I am convinced that the need once realised will be met much less inadequately than at present. But how are we to make it known? By word? Yes. By writing? Yes. But better, by action. Action which springs from conviction will do more to spread that conviction than much talking or writing.

It may be well to work with a view to securing action by the whole Body Corporate of the Church. But meanwhile what is to be done? Something more than agitation at home, though that has its place. We must pray: prayer first. But next action.

I hold it to be neither heresy nor folly to maintain that



a clergyman by leaving England to serve abroad (and, if need be, by avoiding marriage) does more to express his belief of the need of men abroad, of the claims of the Empire on the Church, than by many sermons or discussions.

His vacant place will not be vacant long, but while vacant it will be eloquent, and there are boys and young men who will hear its speech, and learn the need of men and the glory of the ministry, of the work of the evangelist and shepherd, and offer themselves after the example of the man they knew, and whose vacant place spoke so loud.

ARTHUR M. RANGOON.

*Note A.*—I have written of the special call to our Church which comes from the fact of our Indian Empire. This reinforces the general call of the Great Commission.

The following figures show how nobly two other great Christian bodies outside Britain respond to the single and general call, and also our response to the double call.

Clergy and lay workers (men and women and wives of missionaries) engaged in *missionary* work and *work among Eurasians* in Burma :

Roman Catholics	.	.	.	215
American Baptists	.	.	.	177
Church of England	.	.	.	32

*Note B.*—If we reckon together all ministers of all Christian bodies in Burma (including those who serve Europeans) the total is about 200. The proportion of this number to the total population of Burma would be represented by 800 ministers of all denominations among forty millions in Great Britain. Even this comparison omits the fact that Burma is twice the size of Great Britain.

A. M. R.

## MISSIONS AND MODERN HINDUISM.

THE Indian missionary is by this time inured to criticism. To the objections of the average Anglo-Indian, who resents his presence in the country, he has long been accustomed. But there is another order of criticism, of which he has received good measure of late, and which he finds both more valuable and more discouraging. I refer to the charges of lack of sympathy with the best elements of the religious life of India, past and present. The missionary is sometimes told that he is an ignorant intruder in a cultured community, of whose thoughts and ideals he has no understanding, and on which he seeks ruthlessly to trample in his zeal without knowledge. The strictures of Dr. Oldfield, and others still more recent, appeal to the Indian missionary as the opinions of men who have devoted some thought to the subject, and he is anxious to profit by them while at the same time endeavouring to distinguish what is unfounded from what is true in the criticisms offered.

I would venture to suggest, however, that the criticisms have been too sweeping. The Indian missionary community is now a large one, and it includes a great variety of elements. There are the scholars and there are the practical workers—the old men weighted with experience and the young men who make no pretensions to the difficult science of Indian origins, but are cheerfully intent on the object of their calling; and the Zenana worker or lady-doctor, whose presence is regarded as a benediction in every home she visits, though she may know little or nothing of esoteric Hinduism. India is so vast a country, with such multitudes of people needing and welcoming help of every kind, that each mission-station inevitably becomes a centre of beneficent activity, and the missionary a busy worker usually overburdened with a multiplicity of duties of which

his critics have little personal knowledge. The stock objection against the missionary, of want of practical acquaintance with the people, is by no means justified. If the *missionary* is ignorant of the people among whom he lives, who is the person who possesses that knowledge? It is not the Indian official. A distinguished public servant lately retired from office in India has within the last few weeks published a book in which he proposes, as a plan for "the better government of India," that government officers should seek to acquire more knowledge of the people of the country, and not be satisfied with the unsympathetic discharge of their duties. One gladly acknowledges the sympathy and insight into Indian ways and thought which are possessed by some public men in the Indian services, but those among them best qualified to judge would never accuse the missionaries as a body of ignorance of the people.

Nor can this charge of ignorance be substantiated with respect to the more recent religious developments in India, to which Dr. Grierson referred in the April number of this Review. The experienced missionary has got beyond the stage at which a man can find material for speculation in the oft-debated theory of the connection of Christ and Krishna, or develop much enthusiasm about the "Bhakti" teaching of some of the modern sects. It is not because missionaries are ignorant of Bhakti that they say but little in commendation of it. It is because they know so much about it that the revisers of the Indian vernacular versions of the Scriptures have endeavoured to keep both the word and the ideas connected with it out of their renderings of the Bible. Dr. Grierson tells us that the idea of Bhakti "suddenly appeared as if from nowhere, in the character of a fully-developed foundation of belief," and that it was "so new to India, and its character so essentially Christian, that we must assume that it came originally from abroad." It is always unsafe to assert that anything Indian is of foreign origin. It has been said that in every city of India at the present day there are types of thought to be met with of a purely indigenous character, which broadly correspond to all the main lines of religious and philosophical speculation in Europe. It would be strange if the idea of devotion to a particular deity as an easier and

readier means of attaining eternal salvation than the philosophical solution, or "way of knowledge," had never occurred to the Indian mind, among all the multiplicity of religious theories and systems with which the country has for long ages abounded. But if we must look to a foreign source for the origin of Bhakti, it seems more probably due to Persian influence than to Christianity. It is peculiarly characteristic of the Sufism of that country, and the similarity in sentiments and language of these two schools of religion is often very striking. I should not call the idea of Bhakti "essentially Christian," but rather essentially the same as the Deism of the Sufis. It is a notable fact also that it was in the early part of the fifteenth century, when Ramanand, and more particularly his disciple Kabir, are supposed to have lived, that the Hindus began studying Persian literature. But it is unnecessary to assume any outside influence; and it would be more reasonable to attribute Sufism to Indian religious thought rather than the converse. As a matter of fact, the development of the modern sects which make most of the idea of Bhakti can be traced back in every case to the earlier systems out of which they are acknowledged to have risen. Thus the system of the Kabir-panthis, one of the most interesting as well as most strongly Theistic of the modern sects, is obviously an outgrowth from the main stem of the Vishnu religion, adapted by reforming minds to a less instructed public. The idea at the root of all these developments is the same, the unreality of earthly appearances and distinctions, union with and final absorption into the Deity, and the soul's longing for a dimly apprehended Rest. The Vaishnava schools of religion, however, deny that the Deity is void of qualities. They regard Him as possessing all excellence, and their system thus renders possible an intelligent worship, and so far as the inherently pantheistic cast of all Indian thought allows, of something like a personal conception of the Divine. Yet the pantheistic root of these forms of religious thought is proved by many indications, and is evident from the following explanation given by the late Swami Vivekahanda, a prominent exponent of Hinduism. After quoting from the sutras of Vyás, and the comments of Sankaracharya and Ramanuja, names which

carry us very far back in the history of Hinduism, on the nature of Bhakti, he says :

"It has always to be understood that the personal God worshipped by the Bhakta is not separate or distinct from the Brahman" (the pantheistic idea of God held by the Vedanta). "All is Brahman, the one without a second ; only the Brahman as unity or absolute is too much of an abstraction to be loved or worshipped ; so the Bhakta chooses the relative aspect of Brahman, that is, Isvara, the Supreme Ruler. To use a simile, Brahman is as the clay or substance out of which an infinite variety of articles are fashioned. As clay they are all one ; but form or manifestation differentiates them. Before ever one of them was made, they all existed potentially in the clay ; and, of course, though they are identical substantially, they are separate and different ; the clay mouse can never become a clay elephant, because, as manifestations, form alone makes them what they are, though as unformed clay they are all one. Isvara is the highest manifestation of the absolute reality, or, in other words, the highest possible reading of the absolute by the human mind."

Thus Bhakti is, in the view of one of its best-known modern exponents, but a temporary expedient, suitable to the weakness of human nature, and not directed to any personal or permanent reality. The popular philosophy current throughout India, found among followers of Vishnu and Siva alike, heard from the lips of the unlettered peasant equally with the learned Brahmin, regards the Deity as in the last resort impersonal, believes that the spirit which animates each body is a part of the Supreme, is the Supreme himself, who lives and speaks in men and then "passes" ; believes in transmigration, and in the blind bondage to fate which oppresses the heart with a sense of unknown possibilities and dangers. Bhakti after all is but a device to win escape from the burden of existence, to become part of some subordinate deity who is nearer to the great goal than the individual soul can be. The separate drop falling into the river hopes to be carried along with its mightier current into the ocean of pure being or nothingness. Thus the worshipper, in despair of gaining deliverance from the circle of births by the long and arduous "path of knowledge," devotes himself to the service and praise of some lesser deity, usually a form of Vishnu, not

with a disinterested love for the infinite good, but with the object of being united to that deity as a species of patron, and by this union gaining several laps in the race for escape from existence.

That most learned and sanest of Indian scholars, Horace Hayman Wilson, in the essays on the religious sects of the Hindus, defines Bhakti as "implicit reliance on the power of the deity worshipped." This, he says, is regarded by those who attach permanent value to it as a substitute for all religious or moral acts and an expiation of every crime. It is an invention, he adds, of the institutors of existing sects, "intended, like that of the mystical holiness of the Guru, to extend their own authority." That this should be its inevitable result may well be understood from the fact that the mere repetition of the name of the chosen deity is often considered to be the sole religious duty. J. N. Bhattacharyya in his *Hindu Castes and Sects* says, in writing of the extensive Chaitanya sect of Krishna worshippers in Bengal :

"To persons incapable of the Jnan, Yoga, or Karma Marga (the methods of knowledge, mystic exercises, or ascetic practices respectively), Chaitanya recommended the repeated utterance of the names of Krishna and his mistress Radha. Such practice gives an occupation to votaries who are not inclined to think or work hard, and enables them to obtain a high character for piety at a very little cost."

There does not appear to be any sufficient reason for regarding Bhakti as of Christian origin, much less for styling it "essentially Christian." The faith of the Christian is something very different. It has always a moral content. It is not a substitute for duty, but the principle of life which makes Christian living possible. Bhakti teaches men to attach themselves to a deity, and by cultivation and flattery so to ingratiate themselves with the object worshipped that they may be received as special favourites and finally be absorbed into the essence of the god, to enjoy all the benefits of his superhuman exemption from life and duty. The likeness of salvation by Bhakti to the Christian salvation by Faith is a purely external one, for the notions of "salvation" are totally different in the two systems. Will anyone be bold enough to say that in any

form of Hindu religion which exalts Bhakti, the idea of salvation is the Christian idea of a saved character? The difference here indicated is not a trifle; it is the difference between darkness and light. It is like the difference between the holy Christ and the unprincipled buffoon and libertine Krishna. And the same may be said of a great many of the external resemblances and internal contrasts that Hinduism presents in relation to Christianity. All the apparatus of religion, its terms and distinctions, may be there, but the result is pathetic failure, because the idea of salvation is divorced from life regarded in any true and spiritual sense. The object of worship is endowed with no moral excellence, and the worshipper in consequence has neither conception of nor longing after holiness. This travesty of religion, ending in nothing particular, losing itself in mere desire for annihilation, or escape from rebirth and for a long revel in the paradise of Vishnu, fills the Christian observer with sorrow and disappointment. What is there in such a system to take hold of, to adopt, to foster into a living gospel? Will those who blame our ignorance of Indian religion tell us how we are to cherish the religious ideas of the people, how we are to adapt Christianity to something so essentially different from itself? There would be no difficulty in allowing the Hindu passion for compromise and inclusion to embrace Christianity as one of its innumerable sects, and to give Christ a place in its pantheon; but this would be to surrender all that is of spiritual worth and potency in our religion, and to sacrifice the transforming power of Christ to the iron grasp of caste.

To the contention that Christianity has in past ages deeply influenced Hinduism we can only reply that the evidence is by no means clear, and that if there has been influence of any such kind, the result has been purely external, and has had little or no effect on the inner spirit of Hindu religion until quite recent times. There is not a particle of evidence to show that the community of Syrian Christians in Southern India played any part, conscious or unconscious, in the evolution of later religious thought, or that their distinctive tenets ever spread five miles beyond the limits of their settlement. The exclusive caste system, the curious separateness of Indian communities, and the

Brahmanical contempt for what was lowly or of foreign origin, would cut them off from any possibility of wide influence or intercourse. The study of early religious and mythical ideas, as presented in such works as Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, or Frazer's *Golden Bough*, teaches us the danger of assuming a necessary historical connection between religious conceptions, even when they exhibit the most startling coincidences. The simple explanation of such analogies lies in the fact that the human mind is everywhere one, and works generally in a similar fashion.

But while the principle thus stated holds good of the externals of religion, it breaks down when we come to consider the inner meaning and the final cause of the Christian religion. It is here that the inherent disparity between Hinduism and Christianity become clearest. The institutions, rites, even the doctrines to some extent of Hinduism may strangely resemble those of our own religion, yet a great body of practical evidence goes to prove that the one is a "savour of life unto life" and the other of "death unto death." In the striking words of St. Paul, who was a profound religious thinker, the gospel of Jesus Christ has proved itself "a power of God unto salvation for all who believe." The terms Revelation and Inspiration may be made the battle-ground of a vast amount of profitless discussion, yet surely one of the essential facts connoted by them is this, that the faith of Christ shapes itself, in all genuine experience of it, into a saving and sanctifying principle of life, while the ethnic religions, with all their elaboration of speculation and sentiment, remain no more than theory, and leave human nature pretty much where they found it. What was true of the old contrast between Christianity and Greek philosophy is true of the difference between Christianity and the higher Hinduism. Even if it were discovered that every doctrine of the modern Hindu creed was imported from the early Church, it would be as true as ever that Christ alone can impart the principle of regeneration. This is a matter of experience and of history; and the amount of external borrowing and intercourse, even if it could be clearly ascertained, would make no difference whatever to the need of Christian missions! or to the duty of the Christian missionary.



It may be objected that this is an intolerant attitude. I would reply that it is by such intolerance that in every age Christianity, nay, every good cause, has won its beneficent victories. We are confronted nowadays—there is no reference here to any particular writer, but to a general tendency, especially in India—by a tendency on the part of many to belittle and weaken the cause of Christian missions by levelling down our religion to the standard of others, and stigmatising all attempts to spread its tenets as ignorant presumption. Such an attitude can be due only to failure to appreciate the power of the Christian faith to transform character, and takes for its argument the childish assumption that all the people of a Christian country are to be reckoned as examples of the Christian life. By comparing the unchristian lives of Europe with the non-Christian lives of Asia, it strikes a balance, and discovers that there is but little to choose between them. By forgetting the enduring basis of the Christian faith, the person and character of Christ, it fancies that religions are only rival attempts to explain the inexplicable. The missionary has a truer insight into the religious feelings of the people around him than some of those who would instruct him in their creeds. He knows that religion is an inextinguishable passion in the heart of man, and that it appeals to all alike. He knows that he has a message to communicate that is addressed to all human hearts, and to that nature which the Saviour took upon Himself. The wisdom of the wise finds Him a puzzle rather than a revelation. The theosophic student with his store of unreal knowledge misses the meaning of His life. The heathen in his blindness is often nearer to the kingdom of God than the sophisticated critic of religions, for he retains the sense to which religion appeals. There is something sacred in his poorest and most degraded superstition, because it expresses the ineradicable longing of the soul to hear the voice of God, to hear, as Plato said, some certain word of revelation, to see God manifest in the flesh, and find some man, be he priest, magician, or mere deceiver, who shall speak a divine word. The people are listening to that message, and are year by year in larger numbers accepting it, while multitudes not yet convinced are wistfully turning to the light. They know enough of sorrow and suffering to

welcome One who comes to them after all their unavailing search—a living and present Divinity who can say, “Come unto Me, weary and heavy-laden, and I will give you rest.”

The study and understanding of the religion of the people is essential to all who would attempt the work of the Christian missionary. At the same time it would be a great calamity if earnest men and women were to be deterred by recent criticisms from choosing the Indian field through a mistaken impression that the work demands an almost superhuman faculty of entering into all manner of abstruse and subtle speculations. There is every variety of population in India, and the great mass of the people—more than three-fourths—are a simple and untaught peasantry. There is room for every devoted Christian worker in India, and the only qualifications required are conviction and love. Without indulging any blind national conceit, it may be pointed out in all soberness that the European or American Christian worker in India, from the day of his arrival in the country, finds himself or herself in possession of a power for usefulness, a talent of which it had probably never occurred to him to think—namely, the inheritance of character, energy, and unfailing good-will which his Christian birth and training have given him, and which is invaluable in a land like India, where these qualities are so far to seek. From the time he begins to work in India, and while as yet he knows nothing of the language and customs of the people, this Christian life and character exert their quiet yet powerful influence.

The writer is acquainted with missionaries who have been eminently successful in dealing with the Indian mind, and in bringing men into the Christian fold, but, so far as his observation goes, it has never been due to his special knowledge of the religious systems of the country. It has been by the exercise of a genial tact and sympathy and a whole-hearted belief in the truth of Christianity—qualities and graces of Christian character that may be exercised by all, and which (it is not too much to say) are always and everywhere instruments of success. It is possible, indeed, that a too curious information about the peculiarities of Hinduism may have the effect of leading some men to a scientific rather than a practical way of viewing the life

around them, and be a positive hindrance to their Christian work, while the minuteness of their acquaintance with creeds and cults may result in interesting debate rather than in soul-winning, though to the man whose heart is in his work all knowledge comes as an aid, and is duly subordinated to the main purpose of his life. It may be added that the Hindu mind is more impressed by devotion and strength of conviction than by what we may have come to admire as a broad tolerance and sweet reasonableness. These are qualities that come easy to the Hindu's own nature, and seem nothing out of the common. His own religious leaders have always conquered their followers by a renunciation of worldly considerations and the fire of a single prophetic message. It is as a prophet entrusted with a Divine message that the Christian missionary will win the hearts of this people, and the simpler the message and the greater his aloofness from the familiar style of controversy and the platitudes of religious talk the stronger will be the impression made. Conviction is not born in the atmosphere of controversy or of mutual concession and accommodation, but results from the impact of spirit on spirit.

The point where the study of religion and custom (as of language) really comes into the missionary's legitimate calling is as a preparation for persuasive speech. The man ignorant of Indian ways will often unwittingly offend. The preacher or teacher who knows where Hinduism leaves off can best tell where Christianity is fitted to begin. In the adaptation of the Christian message to the customary ways of India, and the proper rendering of its terms, there is unlimited scope for research and useful study. It may be owned that there has been little attempt, so far, to call to our aid the wonderful resources of Eastern poetry, which has always been so popular a vehicle for religious truth among the indigenous sects of Hinduism. It has been said (by Emerson, I think) that the only culture of the East is religion and poetry, and the two have been most potent when they have gone hand in hand, whether in Persia or India. The remarkable influence and popularity of the Hindi *Ramayana* of Tulsi Das is a case in point. There are whole provinces in Upper India where it is

emphatically the Bible of the people, where, after the day's work is over, the farmers in their village, the shopkeepers in their bazaar, gather together to hear their favourite portions of this work recited. The village sire, like Burns' pious cottar,

"Wales a portion wi' judicious care,"

and, if any person qualified to do so is present, the lines are explained and commented upon. It is for them a treasury of moving incident, of homely wisdom, and of religious sentiment. That on the whole its effect has been moral and beneficial there is no need to question. Its religious tone is the unsatisfactory one of Bhakti, but it enshrines much of what is best in the spirit of mediæval India. What the *Iliad* was to the Greeks, that and even more the *Ramayana* is to the Hindus of the North. The Vishnu sects, whether worshippers of Rama or of Krishna, have all their poetic literature. No doubt if there were Christian lays and epics in existence that could be recited by our travelling catechists and preachers, it would be very helpful, in place of the often jejune address or controversial wrangle, and it would fall in with the customs of the people, ministering to tastes from which they derive the keenest pleasure. But such literature can come only from the Christians of the country. It cannot be produced by foreigners, though the foreign missionary can do much to foster and encourage its growth. Only a day or two ago I was asking a colporteur employed by us what kind of books were in demand in the district, and he replied that books of hymns and poetry were most often asked for. Very recently a metrical life of Christ has been published in the Oriya language, and is said to be having a phenomenal sale in Orissa. There are indications of the need of a development in this direction, and suggest to us how a thorough knowledge of modern Indian literature and thought may be turned to useful purpose.

The Christian missionary in India is neither ignorant of the religious ideas of the people around him, nor disposed to deny spiritual worth to them. He finds in such ideas a valuable preparation for the tidings of which he is the bearer. In the philosophical ideas of Brahmanism and in

its profound sense of the consequences of deeds, embodied in the doctrine of Karma, which lifts retribution into a law of the universe, a law so far-reaching that it absorbs the very personality of man and makes his being through countless births and rebirths but a mechanical working-out of past responsibilities—in all this the Christian missionary sees a preparation for the true doctrine of conscience and of the permanence and importance of character. He sees in its very pantheism the shadow of an eternal truth—the Divine basis of life and the reference of all things to an infinite will, which is love. But he sees clearly (or at any rate feels strongly, though he may not always have consciously reasoned the matter out) that Indian religion has not the root of the matter in it, and cannot be developed on its own lines into a truly spiritual and regenerative force. Like the Greek and other ethnic religions with which Christianity had to contend in its early days, it is a system that has grown up from nature-worship, and has never lost the traces of its origin. Its later developments and theories are largely an attempt to rationalise conceptions of a primitive cosmology and early magic rites. The subtlety of the “Higher Hinduism,” its assumption of a superhuman theosophic knowledge, and its remarkable avoidance of simple moral issues, are to be explained as the inevitable growth of a nature-worship acted upon and manipulated through long ages by an ingenious and intellectual people, who have never grasped the conception that breathes in every page of the Bible, that religion is not philosophy but that it is life. As a system of thought it has shown itself to receive a Christian colouring, and appears to be repelled rather than attracted by the clear ethical monotheism of Christianity. The Higher Hinduism, indeed, may be called the Athens of the missionary world, and just as Athens was the one spot of failure in the experience of St. Paul, so philosophic Hinduism is a stronghold that yields to no direct approach of Christianity. There was no Church at Athens, and there are few converts from the ranks of Indian theosophy. Brahman converts there are in plenty, and they are some of the best and ablest of our community, but none of those with whom I have had any acquaintance was ever much taken up with Hindu philosophy, and they are now wholly without interest in it.

Before the warmth and practicality of the Christian life it seems to fade away and be forgotten. Though we ought not to neglect the higher classes of Hindu society, whose influence is so powerful, we are not wise in devoting much time and attention to the hollow philosophy which is professed by some of its educated men. We should address them as men of like needs with the mass of mankind, and unless they grant our indispensable premisses, discussion is useless. It is hopeless to argue, for instance, with a man who refuses to admit any moral distinction of acts, and declares the words "good" and "bad" to be meaningless terms. As it was in the early Christian centuries, the philosophers will come when we have won the people, and not till then.

It is somewhat different with the strange jumble of cults and creeds which we include under the title of modern Hinduism, and whose sole bond of unity is their inclusion in the Brahmanical system, by their acknowledgment of the sacredness of the cow and the supremacy of the Brahmin. These phases of religion vary from the rudest fetichism and ghost-worship of aboriginal tribes up to the reformed theistic creeds of the Vishnu sects. In varying degree there is material here for Christian teaching to work on. The good that we find in many of them encourages us by the vision it presents of the possibilities of Christian life among a people so deeply endowed with religious feeling. When we read in the *Sakhi* of the weaver-mystic Kabir a couplet like the following :

"As there is nothing clearer than the shining of the sun,  
So naught on earth so sweet as my silent meditation of Thee,"

we are filled with a devout hope that the time is not far distant when such passion of spiritual longing will find its rest in the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

I have already referred to the danger which is a result of the recent criticism of missions, that some who might be the best workers in the Indian field may be deterred from giving their lives to the work from an exaggerated sense of its difficulty. There is another danger still more imminent, and that is, lest Christian people should gather the impression that India has less need of the gospel than they had thought.

The present transitional stage through which this vast country is passing makes the active evangelisation of the Indian people one of the most pressing needs of the age. There is a great void being created by the rapid transformation of old ideals. The rise of a fiercely nationalist spirit in the more advanced sections of the Empire is at once the sign and consequence of a slackening of the hold of ancient religion and custom. When religion loses its sway, patriotism, or something calling itself by that name, arises to take its place. We believe that the only force that can save India from an aimless anti-foreign agitation which will be its own worst enemy—the only influence that can rescue its people from a hopeless and cynical *débâcle* of irreligion and blind hatred, in which all that is valuable in the new progress and in the old civilisation alike will perish—is the constraining and renewing power of Christian truth. England has not finished her work in India, and we believe that the temporal sovereignty which she wields over the millions of this continent is working side by side with the benignant influence of Christianity to transform its people and give them a new start in the race of life. But the power of Christianity to work the desired result depends on the clearness of its testimony and the definiteness of its aim. The fact remains that a thousand years of Indian pantheism are of less value for progress and humanity than half a century of contact with Christianity. Those who are best acquainted with India know that there is profound need of influences of a moral and spiritual kind, which it is vain to look for in any of the indigenous creeds. We have only to walk through a city or village, to look around us as we move about in the country, to study native life and character, or to read native newspapers, in order to realise that a thoroughgoing change of ideals is needed. The creation of a true public spirit as distinct from mere agitation, the raising of tone in habits, mode of living, and character, must be brought about before India can be anything like what she is capable of becoming. Plausible talk and abstract considerations must not blind us to the real needs of the situation. A low-strung standard of living, an indifference to others' claims, a hand-to-mouth improvidence, a clinging to old and evil customs, to astrology and the like,

a slothful and immoral resignation to fate, to say nothing of the dark places of heathenism, and especially the treatment of woman—these are the real wrongs of India, and they are not by any means a necessary consequence of the tropical climate, but a result of the neglect of the claims of human brotherhood by those higher classes which now pose as patriots, but who have never done anything to remove the evils of their country or to raise the masses of their fellow-countrymen from ignorance and superstition. If moral stagnation be the only virtue, and earnest effort to improve the world (which is now called intolerance) the only vice, then the Hindus are the most admirable people in the world, and the Christian missionaries who go to them are the most blameworthy. It has yet to be proved, however, that intolerance of this kind, in protesting against which so much good indignation is wasted, ever did harm to a single individual.

The call to the friends of missions and to missionaries in India is a clear one, to continue their witness with undiminished confidence. The great duty now, as at every time, is courage. Our work was never so necessary and never so hopeful as it is to-day. Christianity alone can breathe the right spirit into the Indian people, and create the new ideals. Its influence has been deep and far-reaching during the last century. We see it in the movements which are often (we hope rightly) described as half-way houses to the Christian faith. We must pray and labour that they may not be half-way houses to atheism. But let us not be deceived as to the issue, and the right means to be employed. Probably a fierce struggle is before us. It will not be by compromising, or by spending our time in discovering points of agreement, or by mutual admiration, that India will be saved, but by maintaining the claim of Christianity to be the message of God to the world, and the claim of Christ to the loyalty of men. Amalgamation, union, sympathy, will all come if we are faithful to our trust ; but they will not come by bating one jot or tittle of the Christian evangel. The work of the Christian missionary is not to adapt Hinduism to Christianity. Such adaptation as is often vaguely recommended cannot, in the nature of the case, be the conscious achieve-



ment of any man or body of men. It must come from causes beyond our control, from tendencies in the spirit of the age. "Western" forms of Christianity are not so unsuited to Indian minds as some would make out. There is nothing specially Western about the Christian Church or its institutions. Those institutions arose in the East to a large extent, and are suited to human nature in general, and, while admitting modifications in India, represent the fruit of Divine wisdom in their origin and the best Christian experience in their development. The Holy Spirit can work through them in India just as well as in England.

If we are but faithful to our trust, we need not fear that all that is best in Hinduism—as was the case with all that was best in the life of Greece and Rome and of the Teutonic peoples—will be preserved and will add its riches to Christianity; and we need not regret the disappearance of old philosophies and cults, however interesting they may be, if in the good providence of God they pass away to make room for what is infinitely better, the regeneration of India.

The complaint has been repeatedly made that Indian missionaries study a defunct system, the older Brahmanism, which has been dead for many centuries, and that they remain ignorant of the beautiful and hopeful modern developments of that faith, and especially of the super-excellent doctrines of *bhakti*, with which I have ventured briefly to deal. Those who take up this position may be recommended to read Mr. Slater's account of transmigration in the last number of this magazine. They will learn from it how completely the older doctrines of the Brahmanical creed have permeated Indian thought, and how powerfully they rule it even to the present day. Further, I would emphasise the fact that the modern cults of Hinduism are all derived in an obvious way from the earlier systems which have prevailed in this country, and that missionaries are not so far wrong in devoting their first and main attention to the older Hinduism from which the newer is only a deduction and development, or at most a natural protest. Indeed, the objection referred to suggests a want of acquaintance with the sources of Indian thought. As

well might we blame students of Christianity for studying the Bible rather than the religious literature of the day, and declare that the Bible represents an extinct fossilised system, and that *the* thing to study is Mrs. Eddy or the *Christian Herald*. Doubtless, we should study both the old and the new, but the former is surely more important.

It may be maintained, not unreasonably, that the doctrines of the more modern schools of thought, represented especially by *bhakti*, are not the distinctive Indian doctrines, but partially prevalent, and, though in a sense derived from, yet not compatible with the real beliefs of Hindus, represented by what is nowadays styled the extinct system of ancient Brahmanism, which missionaries are blamed for studying, to the exclusion of the more recent creeds of the people. As Mr. Slater showed, the two streams of belief manage in some strange way to flow on together in the Indian mind, as the waters of the Ganges and Jumna flow side by side before they completely mingle. How they can do so is a puzzle to the western mind, yet such is the fact. But if the question be, which of these two elements, the fatalistic "karma" doctrines of the old, or the personal theism of the new, is the more deeply rooted in the Hindu consciousness, and therefore the ultimate religious faith of the people, the answer must be, I think, that the older doctrines are the basis of Hinduism, and the forces with which the missionary has really to grapple.

The reader will understand that the remarks here made about the Hindu religion are made with the special purpose of showing the need of a direct proclamation of the Gospel in India. That there is a dark side to Indian life and religion which cannot be forgotten, many of India's own sons are as willing and able to recognise as we are ourselves. In due season it is a delight to discover points of analogy between the Christian and Hindu systems, to view these as a preparation for Christ, and to dwell on the sympathy that followers of these great religions should feel for one another; but there are times when we must contend for the Faith, when we must realise that a battle means fighting, not for the sake of fighting, but for the greatest and holiest of causes—the love of God and man. India needs (what we all need) the power of the Holy

Ghost. While humbly confessing our imperfections, we must as Christians faithfully declare our conviction that the effectual means of regeneration for men and nations are found alone in Jesus Christ, the power and the wisdom of God—and this not merely as a dogma, but as a fact of personal and world-wide experience.

E. S. OAKLEY.

## SOME ASPECTS OF EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

ALTHOUGH the title of this article is so broad that it might include everything connected with education in this country since the landing of Van Riebeeck in 1662, I propose, in this first article at any rate, to curtail the proportions it might otherwise assume by limiting it to a statement of such facts as lie within my personal knowledge. And in doing so I shall strive, as far as possible, to present facts which, while possessing features of general interest, shall afford a certain amount of information also to those who have the allocation of what is known in South Africa as the "Canterbury Fund."

First of all I must acknowledge my indebtedness both to the Superintendents-General of Education for all the five Colonies, and also to the clergy for many reports and informing letters.

*Elementary Schools.*—The leading event in Cape Colony last year was the passing of the School Board Act. This measure, though incontestably "marking the beginning of a new era in educational administration" as Dr. Muir, Superintendent-General of Education for Cape Colony, observes in his recently issued Report to the Cape Parliament, does not possess much interest for the readers of *THE EAST AND THE WEST*, save in so far as it deals incidentally with the question of religious education.

This last year, though there has been a record increase (297) in the number of schools opened, and in the number of pupils under instruction, the attainments of pupils above the "gravid ignorance" of Standard V., as revealed by statistics, show an improvement of only '02 per cent., the percentage of teachers professionally qualified for the performance of their duties is only 51'41 as against 50'02 last year.

*Religious Instruction.*—As regards “religious instruction” no real progress has been made. True, under the new Act, the Bible is now formally recognised as a book which must be read in school, and the Government schools now open with the Lord’s Prayer and the reading of a portion of Scripture. The old regulations which allow and even encourage school managers to make provision for religious instruction still remain unchanged ; but the effect of these in the past has been, and doubtless in the future will be, to leave the amount and character of such instruction in the hands of individual head masters or mistresses. There is thus no security for any systematic syllabus even on undenominational lines. Moreover, the “facilities for entry” granted under the Government regulations are so beset with difficulties on one side or another as to be, in practice, almost useless. And yet we cannot unreservedly blame the State for its attitude in this matter. It quite naturally shrinks from attempting to define what are the fundamental principles of Christianity, when the many bodies of professing Christians are not agreed upon this matter. Hence it is decreed that though the Bible may be read in Cape Colony, yet, unlike all other books used in school, it is not necessarily taught, unless indeed (and this applies to the new Colonies as well) parents or guardians feel strongly enough on the matter to request their “ministers” to give such instruction to their children. In that case under certain conditions facilities in Cape Colony may, and in the new Colonies must, be granted to accredited ministers or their representatives to enter the school for the purpose of giving such religious instruction. In actual practice, however, these “facilities” confer little real benefit, (1) because parents rarely take any initiative in the matter ; (2) because the parish priest, though he may desire to enter the school, is not always a disciplinarian and may feel incapable of controlling a large class of boys or girls ; (3) even if this difficulty does not exist, his more specifically pastoral duties may preclude him from attending—some of our parishes here rival an English diocese in extent and area ; (4) Poverty may keep him away. South African travelling is very expensive, distances are great and clerical stipends are generally very

small. For these reasons the existing facilities are of little use.

Even if the "right of entry," for which the Church has always contended, were to be granted, reasons 2, 3 and 4 would still apply ; therefore, unless the Church at home is prepared to help the various rectors with grants of money for the purpose of getting this work done by suitable teachers in the large number of cases in which they would be prevented from performing it personally, it is difficult to see what use we should be able to make of the boon if and when we got it. It would be difficult, though not impossible, to organise the instruction, and in the up-country parishes the parish priest has such a large variety of avocations, that anything like regular attendance and systematic instruction would be quite out of the question.

Next, as regards the syllabus. Even if all the dioceses in South Africa were to follow the example recently set by Capetown and Grahamstown, and adopt the same syllabus, the conditions as regards age, attainments, teachers, &c., vary so tremendously in the various schools and parishes, that any uniformity in the teaching would be well-nigh impossible. One could not ensure any cohesion between the teaching units either as regards method or subject matter. Still the Church's policy of demanding admission *de jure*—even if she could in practice only exercise it for the purpose of catechising her children—is eminently fair and reasonable, although unless we could afford to pay the teachers—preferably those of our own communion already engaged in the secular work of the various schools—to do the teaching for us, I fear the advantages that would accrue to the cause of Christianity and the Church would be theoretical rather than practical.

If it were possible, we ought to unite with all other religious denominations and try to secure that denominational religious teaching shall no longer be permitted on sufferance, but shall be given by teachers of these denominations in school hours to their own children as an integral part of the ordinary curriculum. At present the question as to whether religion shall be taught or not is decided by the school Board, the school's principal and the parish priest. In fine, without money we can do very little, and even with

money I am not sure that we can do very much until we secure an alteration of the present law. From what I have seen and heard of the attitude of school principals in this matter it is quite clear that while they are naturally alive to the necessity of some safeguards as regards discipline, both for their own sakes and the credit of their schools, they are not, as a class, antagonistic to the clergy entering the school under well-thought-out regulations.

*Secondary schools.*—But if the Church is not able at present to give definite instructions to her little ones during school hours when their education is in its “elementary” stage, she can and does keep in close touch with them in the secondary Church schools, which in common with other religious bodies she provides for those who seek higher education. For instance, in this city of Grahamstown there is an important R. C. College in the hands of the Jesuit Fathers, and a large Wesleyan College of later date, which occupy a precisely similar position with regard to the Government as our own Church schools in South Africa, such as Michaelhouse (Natal); St. John’s College, Johannesburg; the grammar schools at Capetown and George; the diocesan college, Rondebosch; the diocesan school for girls, Grahamstown; and St. Andrew’s College, Grahamstown: all these, and others like them, are untrammelled by any Government regulations or rules. They give an education similar as regards subjects of secular instruction to that given by the State-aided high schools, but in each of them the school chapel, where it exists, is the centre of their corporate life, and the Church catechism, the Church services and definite religious teaching form an integral part of the curriculum. Government eyes these with no special favour, and contributes nothing to their support, although several of them are of long standing, and apart from their scholastic successes, which have been considerable, many of their old boys have risen to distinguished positions in the country. These schools provide an education for the sons and daughters of South Africa of the English public school type for boys, and of the Church of England “girls’ high school” type for girls, and are generally credited with producing a higher moral tone and culture than can be acquired at the Government schools.

Beyond this they provide for Church people a "non-local" education which many parents still prefer to having their children educated in the district in which they live. Yet the Government persistently refuses to give them grants in aid of equipment, furniture, apparatus or boarding-houses. It is not fair, as individual members of both parties in Parliament will admit, that the various religious denominations should do the State's work and get no State grants, but Parliament as a body refuses to recognise us simply because, in addition to the requirements of the ordinary Government high school, we teach quite definitely the principles of Christianity as understood by the Anglican Church. Parliament have not yet grasped the fact that it is the duty of the State to support any kind of education which turns out a good citizen, and that a citizen possessed of definite convictions is likely to be more useful to the community than one who has none. This view only wants putting forward with constant and persistent force to gain ultimate recognition. I have frequently been on deputations to the Prime Minister and other officials, and have urged this view, but so far the result has been sympathy but no grant. If, as we believe, a man with no special convictions is a potential danger to the community, it is a strange thing that statesmen should relegate the training of character to one day in the week only. One of the arguments used is, that were denominationalism allowed in school hours, the fact of some three or four "denominational" classes being formed under different teachers would emphasise our "unhappy religious divisions." Unhappy no doubt they are, but children know that they exist, and Sunday is the day of all others when these differences are most patent, for on that day some families go to their "barracks," some to churches, and others to chapels.

And yet there is some truth in the jibe, "Teach them on Sundays"; it is the obvious fact of our divisions which causes statesmen to disregard the plea of Churchmen and causes them to adopt an attitude alien to the historical and formerly religious character of the state they represent. Until we can agree, the boys and girls whom we all wish to help must continue to suffer. And this condition of our divisions is



—*mutatis mutandis*—applicable to the problem of religious education in every colony in South Africa ; the men holding the distinguished office of Directors-General of Education are not as a body against us, and some of them, notably Mr. H. Gunn of Orangia, have shown a real desire to meet the wishes of the Church as far as these have been intelligently formulated. Their difficulties arise chiefly in connection with the attainments of their pupils and the inadequate supply of competent teachers, difficulties, alas ! from which we in the Church schools are also not quite free. Even in this colony, under the able administration of Dr. Muir, where things are relatively at their best, the average standard of attainment apart from Biblical knowledge, the ignorance of which is appalling, is so low as to cause the gravest concern to all who have the future welfare of the country at heart. " If," said a prominent M.A. not long ago, " it is true to say that the British are the worst educated of any imperial race, I fear it is equally true to say that South Africa is the worst educated portion of his Majesty's dominions." Many parents allow their children to run wild or give them only a little elementary schooling before putting them to wage-earning occupations at an age when they ought to be acquiring further formative knowledge for their work in life. Add to this " undenominationalism," which tends to produce indefiniteness of principle, and the result must be a class of citizen which can scarcely add to the wisdom or progress of the Commonwealth. The Church schools have done and are doing something to remedy this state of things, and if properly equipped they may hope to do more, but money is needed to pay good teachers, to reduce the fees to the Government level or thereabouts, and for equipment and apparatus. If once properly endowed, the schools which some one has called the " strategic outposts " of the Empire, would, by their methods of work, the high moral tone which pervades them, and the *esprit de corps* which they create, do much to weld together the two dominant races of South Africa, to the incalculable benefit of the Empire at large. There is no social antagonism, no narrow denominationalism anywhere in our Church schools. We are a living object-lesson that the development of mind and character must proceed simultaneously if worthy

citizens are to be produced. It is largely in these schools that the colonists of the past who to-day are doing good work for South Africa have gained the inspiration which has urged them to give her of their best ; it is in these schools, too, that future colonists can learn to realise their great responsibilities to the dark-skinned races whom they are destined to govern and amongst whom they will have to live ; only the Church of Christ can teach them that the responsibility of empire carries with it the duty of bearing "the white man's burden." But to leave these higher considerations. We must try to provide as good a system of education out here as we get in the public schools at home. It is not right that colonial boys should lose touch with their country by being sent out of it to be educated, in the plastic and impressionable days of their youth. The Church at home has now a great opportunity to help the Church out here to provide suitable schools on the spot. We appeal with confidence to the Mother Church, for in this case we have a real claim on her material resources. This country is rich, but as it is drained of most of its natural wealth for the benefit of people living at home, its people are comparatively poor. For that reason we ask the people of England to give us back something of that which they have unwittingly taken from us. Just now, times are very bad with us, and our Church schools, which charge higher fees than the Government institutions, are the first to feel the pinch. Other churches have met or are meeting the call made upon them, and we hope that there will be a generous response to the appeal of the Archbishop's Committee for this fund. When the project was first mooted, it was not properly understood, but now that it is recognised that the Church at home was merely rising to its responsibilities and was not seeking in some veiled way to place the English Church out here in an "established" position of superiority to that of the other Christian denominations in this country, any suspicions the Dutch and others may have had have been allayed. It is imperial work that these schools are doing out here amid great difficulties, and, as regards their staff, without any hope of material reward. South Africa is at present the weak spot in our mighty chain of empires, and there

could be no greater piece of imperial work than for some wealthy Englishman to endow one or other of these struggling Church schools which are doing work for the Empire ; and when one reads of a South African philanthropist spending £30,000 on the endowment of a professorship of Colonial History at Oxford, one feels that he desires to do good for his Colony, but if he would direct his share towards the struggling Church schools of South Africa, where graduates of that ancient university, on salaries of from £150 to £200 a year, are striving to educate the boys who are going to make that history, he might realise the pathetic irony of the situation and endow some of those institutions which are turning out the very class of pupils who would attend those lectures to their own immediate profit and the ultimate benefit of the colonies to which they belong.

In the matter of the elementary State-aided schools the Church at home cannot fight or even help to fight our battle for the "right of entry"—we must do that ourselves ; but as regards "religious instruction," when we get the right to give it, or when—in individual cases—"facilities" have been granted under the existing law in any parish, the Church at home might place grants in aid of such instruction either in the hands of our bishops to be allocated to such places and in such proportions as they saw fit, or the provincial board of education, which is under the presidency of the Archbishop, might be willing to undertake the administration of such block grant or annual sum as could be spared for the purpose of paying accredited representatives to give religious instruction in schools where the parish priests were, for any good reason, not able to undertake the work.

As regards secondary Church schools, these require good endowments to enable them to pay their assistant masters or mistresses at a higher rate. An endowment would also enable a Church school to reduce its fees to the Government school level. If this is not done it is to be feared that they will not be able to compete much longer with the State-aided schools where teachers are relatively better paid and where the fees charged are a good deal lower. Failing satisfactory endowments, what is required

at present is a smaller lump sum down and an annual income for a few years to enable them to tide over the present economical depression.

It would be worse than useless just now to start any new Church schools ; in this colony alone the Government opened 297 last year and there is no room for further denominational schools anywhere at present, for the very success of a new Church school, especially of the secondary and "non-local" type, would undoubtedly militate against that of the older established institutions which are already struggling for their existence. Some day this should be done, but the time has not yet come. The white population of this country is not increasing at any great rate. At the last census in 1904, the returns revealed that the total population of British South Africa was 6,333,191, of whom only 1,135,016 were white. During the past fifty years, the rate of increase has only been one fortieth of the total number—*i.e.*, for 1905 about 15,000, of whom again only some 2,140, or 1 in 7, are of school age. It will thus be seen that the question of founding new Church schools is not a pressing one. With sixty-eight Church schools of all grades already in existence, we have more than enough for our present needs.

*Training Colleges.*—My own experience of these is confined to St. Peter's Training College, Grahamstown, which is at present in the receipt of Government grants, and presided over by the sisters of the C. R.

It would be difficult to over-estimate the influence which the female teachers trained here will ultimately exercise upon the minds of children in the Government and Farm schools up country : it all makes for the Christianising of education, but if it becomes a question of allocating large sums of money for building operations in connection with a semi-Government training college, those who have the allocation of funds for this purpose should clearly understand not only the present, but also the possible future development of affairs. In a country constituted as South Africa is, where the State has assumed the almost exclusive control of European education, it is obviously the duty of the State to provide colleges for the training of teachers for the profession they hope to adopt, and for that reason the State

supports St. Peter's Training College with generous grants despite the denominational "atmosphere" of its surroundings. It is being worked with energy and devotion which are beyond praise. Let me quote from Inspector Binnie's report to the Superintendent-General of Education of Cape Colony under date January 12, 1906. Speaking of St. Peter's College he says: "The large increase in the number of those who carry their training beyond the bare third-class certificate is very satisfactory, and should make itself felt in the schools to which the students may go in a more thorough grasp and wider view of their work. For this advance the credit is chiefly due to the enthusiasm of the Mother Superior and Sisters of St. Peter's Home, in whose charge the training college has never ceased to flourish. The numbers at the college have gone up in the period under review from 93 to 135, an increase of nearly 50 per cent., and the training given maintains a very high level."

Nothing could well be more satisfactory, and as regards the excellence of the work done, I know from personal experience that the facts as stated are true. Yet with every wish that the existing arrangement shall continue, no one who looks at the facts will be able to convince himself that the present arrangement possesses the elements of permanence. What is the aim of the Church in this matter? It can scarcely be that we wish to train women teachers exclusively for work in the Church schools. We do not possess enough of them to warrant our embarking on such a great expense. What then is the real object? We wish the girls trained here to exercise an indirect influence on the lives of the girls of South Africa, whom they will ultimately have to teach in Cape Colony and elsewhere. But such influence will be very indirect indeed, for we are not a proselytising Church in the first place, and in the second, as the State's declared policy is "undenominationalism" pure and simple, we cannot desire that any teacher should break the conditions of her appointment and jeopardise her professional career by teaching the very definite tenets of our Anglican communion in a State-aided school. It would appear then that our wish is merely to create a "Church atmosphere."

Now this, though very desirable from an Anglican point

of view, is naturally the very reverse from a "Free Church" standpoint.

In 1904 the Wesleyans had sixty-eight schools, exactly the same number that we had, the Romans thirty-five, and the other recognised denominations a less, but still considerable, number. How long is it reasonable to suppose that these bodies, who have a large majority over us, will allow the present predominance of what they call "the Anglican element" to continue? They have objected in the past, they object now, and they will continue to object in the future. How long will they tolerate things as they are? I do not know, but if we are to put ourselves in their position, we should object also. In the past they have made themselves felt very effectually. It was the supposed "Anglican atmosphere" of the University College department of St. Andrew's, just as much as the hope of the munificent endowment of £55,000 from the Rhodes Trustees and De Beers which in 1903 caused the revival of the agitation for "strictly undenominational higher education" in Grahamstown and led to the foundation of the Rhodes University College, the withdrawal of our Government grant, and the transference of some forty-two of our undergraduates to the register of that institution. History has a way of repeating itself. For twenty-eight years the Government found it could make good use of us—we did its work and therefore it supported us; but when in the fulness of time its resources were increased, it reverted to its undenominational policy and withdrew its grant without offering any compensation for the buildings which the school had purchased for the benefit of the very undergraduates whose removal had left them tenantless. What has happened before may happen again. The steady support given by our present Superintendent-General of Education to St. Peter's Training College for women teachers cannot be due to his admiration for the tracts of the Sisters of the C. R., for he is not a member of our Church at all; it is simply due to his just appreciation—shared by all who know her or her work in South Africa—of the wonderful energy, devotion and organising power of its late most capable head, the Mother Superior, Sister Cécile. He saw that she was doing extremely well a work

which he particularly desired to have done, and so on her acceptance of the broad-minded policy of admitting ministers of the various denominations to give religious instruction to members of their own bodies and allowing her students to attend their own places of worship, he wisely endowed an enterprise the unprecedented success of which has amply justified the wisdom of his action and the accuracy of his foresight. But though he may continue his policy for some time yet, other Superintendents-General may not see matters in his light, and as both sides in the Cape Parliament favour the appointment of a Minister of Education it is not difficult to foresee that political influences will be brought to bear from Free Churchmen upon this future Cabinet Minister, and it will be pointed out again that there can be no element of permanence in an arrangement whereby an Anglican sisterhood (which in the minds of our Nonconformist friends is supposed to represent the *ne plus ultra* of extreme high Anglicanism) shall retain in perpetuity the control of an avowedly undenominational Government training college. Of course no one can possibly gainsay the work done or the results obtained, but criticisms based on logic, justice and general principles can be urged and will be urged with telling force. Acquiescent or even ardent in their support as our friends of other denominations have hitherto been, they are keenly alive to the fact that even an "atmosphere" is well worth fighting for. We may, therefore, assume that in days to come, when another Superintendent-General shall arise who knows not the arrangement, they will urge upon him with more vigour than they have displayed hitherto, the incontestable fact that the English Church in South Africa is merely one of the duly "recognised sects," and will demand that the training as well as the "higher education" of teachers shall be placed on a uniform basis of undenominationalism. This will occur when once prosperity returns to this land and Government has consequently more money to spend on education. As long as undenominationalism retains its present position, I fear that even the most ardent partisan would be drawn to admit that there is a *primâ facie* case against us.

Unless, therefore, the Church of this province could get

a binding guarantee from the Government of Cape Colony, and that is scarcely possible, she should be chary of allowing the Church at home to spend 50,000*l.* or even 20,000*l.* on the endowment in the shape of bricks and mortar of what may prove to be merely a temporary "atmosphere." The other churches may acquiesce for some time longer, but judging from the analogy of St. Hubert's in 1903, I should say that they will ultimately procure the withdrawal of the grant. The personal equation of the late Sister Cécile was large, and the persuasive charm of her personality was very great, as were also her devoted labours for the Church of Christ; but these factors are no longer to be reckoned with, and even if she were with us, her great work could not be continued in its present form, unless the State were to finally throw over undenominationalism.

Owing to the transitional condition of affairs out here, if the Church really wishes to devote large sums for the establishment of training colleges, it should build and endow them as far as may be necessary herself, but in the case of existing training colleges already largely supported by Government grants—and I have instanced St. Peter's, Grahamstown, as being the only one with which I have any real acquaintance—it would be wiser to let the State pay for boarding-houses and the like and devote her funds towards improving the salaries of the teachers, and the "comfort and dignity" of them and their pupils by means of endowments rather than—as would appear to be contemplated—make an immediate advance of money for erecting buildings at such institutions where—apart from the special purpose for which they were constructed—they would, on their disuse in consequence of any future act of the Legislature, possess but little value to anyone except the State, and would therefore fall into its hands and be instrumental in assisting the State in the furtherance of that very undenominational system of education which the Church of this province has always hitherto most steadfastly opposed.

W. S. MACGOWAN.



### BUDDHISM IN BURMA.

BUDDHISM is a philosophy rather than a religion; and of the multitudes who profess it (whether with Dr. Zeller and the best authorities we reckon them at 120 millions, or, more inaccurately, with Prof. Rhys Davids at 500 millions) there is hardly one to be found who does not also believe and practise some religion at variance with the teaching of Buddhism. "Not one of the 500 millions who offer flowers now and then on Buddhist shrines is only or altogether a Buddhist."<sup>1</sup> The "chambers of a Chinese soul" are so completely separated that the man does not see why he cannot be a Confucianist, a Buddhist, and a Taoist all at the same time, though the theories and practices of these faiths are widely different. Again, the whole theory of life and worship among the northern Buddhists (of China, Tibet, and Japan), is in many respects radically opposed to the southern Buddhism of Ceylon and Further India. It is agreed on all sides that the latter, the tradition of the Mahavihara ("Great Monastery") of Anuradhapura in Ceylon, as incorporated in the Pali Canon, is the earlier form of the faith. Here the ideal put forth for men to strive after is the life of the *areeya* ("noble one") who, rejoicing in the thought that he has irrevocably entered on the path which leads to extinction (*Nirvana*), is free from all bonds, from desire of anything material or spiritual for himself or others, from love or hate, regarding with utter indifference pain or suffering, whether it be experienced in his own person or in that of others. He knows that "not to be" is better than "to be," and that ere long like his master he will cease to be. The northern Buddhism is a revolt against this cold and selfish theory. It seemed to the more virile

<sup>1</sup> Rhys Davids' *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 7.

nations of northern India, as (afterwards) to the inhabitants of China and Japan, that it was nobler to aim at becoming a *Bohisattva* (or embryo Buddha), so that through age after age one might labour for the welfare of one's kind, rather than to become an *areeya*, and selfishly escape by extinction all the troubles and trials of life, forgetful of the woes of humanity. The southern Buddhist had been taught to dwell on the memory of his "Lord," now no more. The northern Buddhist, however, personifies this conception, and believes in an eternal Buddha in the heavens who has often been incarnated on the earth; indeed, many of them worship as God the Amitabha Buddha.

Among all the nations who profess Buddhism, none hold it in so pure a form as the Burmese. Amongst no other people is it so nearly universal as it is amongst them; to them Buddhism is "the Burmese religion," or more accurately "the Burmese custom." To the uneducated it is an effort to realise, what they have heard so often, that Gautama was not a Burman, but one of the despised and disliked "black kulas" (or foreigners from the west).

Buddhism was in very early times introduced to the Hindu colonists settled in the coast-lands of Burma—possibly in the days of the great Buddhist Emperor Asoka (who summoned a council of monks at his capital, Patna, in the year 242 B.C.), certainly it had reached those parts by the second century of the Christian era. From the Hindu colonists it spread slowly to the Muns or Talaings, the Mongolian natives of those parts. Among the Burmese proper Buddhism was unknown until the middle of the eleventh century of the Christian era, when Anawrahta, the founder of the Burmese Empire, conquered the coastlands, and carried away from Thaton the Buddhist monks and images and scriptures to his new capital at Pagan. Hitherto the Burmese had been merely animists, or Shamanists—worshipping the spirit of the house or village, or mountain, or stream, or tree, and propitiating the demons of cholera and other sicknesses, &c. With all the zeal of a convert, Anawrahta compelled his subjects to resort regularly on "the worship days" to the pagodas which he built, and he inhibited the worship of the spirits, imposing fines and floggings on their worshippers. Hence it was that

people removed the cocoanut of the guardian *nat* (or "spirit") from the front of their house to the rear, or to some hidden corner in the house; even as others in ancient times had "feared the Lord and served their own gods."

Buddhism is extremely individualistic. If a man does what is right, that is his own concern; he will be rewarded for his action. If a man does evil, that too is no one's concern but his own, except in so far as he directly injures another by his action. If one will be unwise, he must inevitably suffer; if a man will be such a fool as to doubt the infallibility of Gautama, or to meddle with such questions as "What am I? Whence came I? Whither do I go?"—well, he will reap the fruit of his own folly and ignorance, in the lowest hell. The true Buddhist should look even on the rejection by another of his faith with the same composure and absence of grief with which he would regard any utterly trivial matter. Gautama himself regarded speculation as mortal sin, and (if the earlier Pali writings are to be trusted) bandied about the name of "heretic" pretty freely; but the fact that another is a heretic should not move one a hair's breadth from perfect equanimity and placid content. In Buddhism no one is called upon "boldly to rebuke vice," no one regards himself as his brother's keeper. Gautama would preach his law—in itself a philosophic theory that life is suffering—to parricides and courtesans who would listen with great unction without in any way repenting of their misdoings, and from whose hands the master himself would accept hospitality and offerings. Although religious wars for the possession of relics have been of frequent occurrence in the history and legends of Buddhist nations, Buddhism has generally been true to its spirit in abstaining from violent religious persecutions. Still devout Buddhist kings, from Asoka onwards, have always used their position to exalt their faith and to root out "false doctrine"; and at least twice in modern days in the history of Burma—in the reigns of two of her greatest kings, of Badôn (ob. 1822 A.D.) and of Mindôn (ob. 1878 A.D.)—theistic philosophers were put to death for their faith, and their followers had either to suffer as martyrs, to flee the country, or to deny their religious convictions.

In connection with the former occasion the following passage from Father San Germano's work, *The Burmese Empire*, is worth quoting :

"Christianity has hitherto experienced no persecution in these parts, partly on account of the small number of the converts, and partly through the prudence of the missionaries, who have been solicitous to preserve themselves and their disciples from observation. Otherwise it is probable that they would have had to suffer much, as we may gather from the fate of the Zodi ('enlightened ones') who began by making a great stir throughout the whole kingdom, and thereby excited the zeal of the Emperor against them. It is believed that great numbers of them still (*i.e.* about the beginning of the nineteenth century, when Father San Germano was writing his work) exist in divers parts of the Empire, but they are obliged to keep themselves concealed. They are of Burmese origin, but their religion is totally different from that of Gautama. They reject metempsychosis, and believe that each one will receive the reward or punishment of his actions immediately after death, and that this state of punishment and reward will last for eternity. Instead of attributing everything to fate (*karma*), as the Burmese do, they acknowledge an omnipotent and omniscient *Nat* (*i.e.* spirit), the Creator of the world ; they despise the Pagodas, the *Baos* (a name used by the Portuguese in India) or convents of *Talapoins* (the name used by the Portuguese for 'monks'), and the statues of Gautama. The present Emperor, a most zealous defender of his religion (and most cruel despot, who waged many awful wars, Badon Min), resolved with one blow to annihilate this sect, and accordingly gave orders for their being searched for in every place, and compelled to adore Gautama. Fourteen of them were put to a cruel death ; but many submitted, or feigned to submit, to the orders of the Emperor, till at length he was persuaded that they had all obeyed. From that time they have remained concealed, for which reason I have never been able to meet with any of them, to inquire if any form of worship had been adopted by them. All that I could learn was that the sect was still in existence, and that its members still had communications with each other. They are for the most part merchants by profession."<sup>1</sup>

A similar movement about the middle of the nineteenth century met with the same fate. In the *Burma Census Report* of 1901, a short account of the sect of the *paramats* (*i.e.* "the excellent ones"), founded in 1856 by

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 88 sq. of Government reprint of the translation of *The Burmese Empire*, by Fr. San Germanos, 1885.

one Maung Po, a physician to King Mindôn, is given in a contribution from Taw Sein Ko, the government archæologist, who, however, has overlooked their fundamental doctrine of the existence of an eternal God. He writes of Saya (=Teacher) Po :

"His principal tenet is that man's salvation lies in his own hand, and that salvation can be attained if one has overcome the Maras (*i.e.* the five masters or tyrants—animal constitution, subjection to the repairs and operations of the four causes, passion, death, and the evil spirit) as Gautama Buddha did . . . For a time these heretical teachings (for Buddhism has wandered far from the simple moral and philosophic precepts of its founder, and has become very largely a matter of custom and religious observance) spread like wildfire, and their acceptance absolved their adherents from the obligation to support Buddhist monks. (I do not in the least imagine that Mr. Taw Sein Ko, himself a Buddhist, and an occasional contributor to *Buddhism*, the magazine of the 'International Buddhist Society,' has here touched the secret of the strength of the movement. It may, however, be noted that he incidentally shows that, in the times of the Burmese kings, contributions to the support of monks, &c., were not always voluntary offerings) . . . The king at once ordered the arrest and impalement of the founder, Maung Po, and his sect was proscribed in Upper Burma. One of his principal followers, Maung Ko, fled to Pegu, which then became the rallying point of the dispersed and persecuted adherents. Thence their doctrines spread to Shwegyin, and Thabyegan in the Hanthawaddy District."

In some parts of Lower Burma these *paramats* form a considerable percentage of the population; but in other parts of Lower Burma, as also in Upper Burma, there are but few, though most adult Burmans have heard of the movement. It does not seem to have much active force at the present time. Moreover, the *paramats* are divided up into innumerable small sects, and (like the Burmans generally) are given to logomachy, not looking beyond the counter used to the thing itself. If casually asked their religion, most *paramats* would reply "Buddhism"; for they hold that neither the popular "orthodox" Buddhism, nor the Buddhism of the earliest Pali writings, is other than a corruption of the faith as held by themselves. Some of them are pantheistic, and others are theistic. Most

*paramats* tacitly allow their wives and children to go to the pagodas to worship images, for in the case of the more ignorant it is image-worship, though the more thoughtful Buddhists regard the actual worship of "a heap of brick," to be "heresy." They hold that women and children are naturally ignorant, and cannot be expected to know anything about deep matters. It is the weakness of the *paramat* movement, as of Buddhism itself, to regard religion as a philosophy rather than as a life, as something to be listened to and learnt rather than to be experienced and followed; hence the tradition of the faith is from master to pupil, rather than from parent to child. As Professor Oldenberg, when contrasting it with Christianity, has pointed out, Buddhism is really a philosophy for the wise, for those who can comprehend the wondrous "truths" it shows forth; it has no message to the child-like soul which cannot grasp a theory, but can only let its heart respond to a father's love.

It is sad to think that the Church has not been successful to any large extent in meeting this feeling after God, in deepening and intensifying the efforts of the *paramats*, and in guiding the movement towards the full revelation of the truth. Fifteen years ago, before his health failed him, the Rev. Thomas Rickard had got into sympathetic touch with a number of them; and some of the best of our Burmese converts have come from the *paramats*, including the late U Talôk Pyu, who contributed so liberally to the building of St. Michael's Church at Kemmendine. Very little progress has been made in this direction since then. The number of our missionaries to the Burmese is extremely limited, and still more so is the number of men who have a working knowledge of the language—sufficient, that is, for conversation and discussion with the casual Burman. Until a heavier assault is made on Buddhism, it would be vain to anticipate any wide breach in the walls of ancient custom; still, the greatest trial that besets the missionary is not the difficulty of converting a thoughtful Buddhist to Christianity, much less of convincing his mind of the superiority of the Christian faith, but the difficulty of building up the moral character of the volatile Burman.

As we have said, the Burman ordinarily regards him-

self as a Buddhist *quâ* Burman ; and those Burmans who are living far away from the scenes of missionary effort can hardly understand that a Burman should be anything else unless he is going to receive some temporal advantage by professing a foreign faith. I have often heard the Burmese say that if our King forbade them to follow Buddhist worship and ordered them to become Christians they would all have to obey, and Buddhism would disappear at once from the land. I do not think that this would be the case, but it tends to show that Buddhists do not in general hold their religion very dear as a faith, however much they may love its customs. In the official *Census Report* (of 1901), the Editor, Mr. C. C. Lowis, I.C.S., speaks of :

"The fact—now largely recognised, that the Buddhism of the people is of the lips only, and that inwardly in their hearts the bulk of them are still swayed by the ingrained tendencies of their Shamanistic forefathers—in a word are, at bottom, animists pure and simple. . . . The Burman has added to his animism just so much of Buddhism as suits him, and with infantile inconsequence draws solace from each of them in turn. I know of no better definition of the religion of the great bulk of the people of the province than that given by Mr. Eales in his 1891 *Census Report* 'a thin veneer of philosophy laid over the main structure of Shamanistic belief.' The facts are here exactly expressed. Animism supplies the solid constituents that hold the faith together, Buddhism the superficial polish. Far be it from me to underrate the value of that philosophic veneer. It has done all that a polish can do to smooth, to beautify, and to brighten ; but to the end of time it will never be more than a polish. In the hour of great heart-searching it is profitless. It is then that the Burman falls back upon his primæval beliefs. Let but the veneer be scratched, the Burman stands forth an animist confessed."<sup>1</sup>

And if the Burmans who have professed Buddhism for many centuries have not abandoned their belief in animism, much less have the numerous hill tribes of Burma, the Shans, Karens, and Chins, done so ; yet such of these peoples as live on the very confines of Burma, or who have mixed freely with the Burmans, generally profess Buddhism. The *Census Report* of 1901 gives less than 400,000 animists (and less than 150,000 Christians) in the whole country, whilst there were 787,087 Shans in Burma, and

<sup>1</sup> *Census Report*, pp. 33, 35.

1,137,444 more in the Shan States, and 717,859 Karens (exclusive of the Red Karens), 100,305 Chins in Burma (exclusive of some 30,000 more of allied tribes as well as the wild Chins of a frontier district), and also 64,405 Kachins, to say nothing of all the Burmans who are animists. For a member of one of these hill tribes to become a Buddhist is to raise himself *ipso facto* in the social scale; he passes thereby from the condition of an ignorant savage to that of a civilised man in the opinion of the people of the land. So decade after decade has witnessed in the census returns a rapid decrease in the number of professed animists.

In an article by Maung Po Mè in the first number of *Buddhism*, an illustrated quarterly review, the organ of the "International Buddhist Society," which is under the editorship of Bhikkhu (*i.e.* Monk) Ananda Maitriya (*alias* Mr. McGregor), the writer seeks to vindicate the position that the Burmese are truly and only Buddhist; but he gives away the whole question by what he says:

"If in times of sorrow, of calamities, we see the Burman Buddhist act otherwise [than in accordance with Buddhist laws and precepts], we must know then that he has been faced by a riddle of the universe, and he cannot find a solution; in his performance of an old-time rite he may seek consolation, but this does not mean that he has found a solution of the riddle. He has merely done that which is human and which he thinks right." <sup>1</sup>

The words quoted illustrate the difference which exists between the creed and practice of the average Englishman and those of the average Burman. Both Christian and Buddhist in their daily life come short of the teachings of their respective faiths. The more exalted a faith is and the more successful it is in raising a man above his natural self, the more conscious must that man be of his own shortcomings. It is not only Buddhists whose lives are often opposed to their principles, but Buddhism seems to be unique among religions, inasmuch as its devotees in their most serious moments unconsciously deny the fundamental principles of their own faith, and this not through any moral delinquency, but because of the essential character of human nature. The highest instincts of Buddhists lead them when

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 94, 95.



they are in the most solemn moment of their lives to do and to say things inconsistent with Buddhism. They will in their trouble cry "Lord, help!" or "Lord, have mercy!" though their faith tells them that neither God nor man can help them, for each must bear his own lot (the unavoidable result of the thoughts and words and deeds of himself and of all those who have gone before him). All Buddhists know how that when one of his followers appealed to Gautama for help, he replied, "Do not cling to me—I cannot help you; if you do as I do, you will be as I am." Neither in temporal nor in spiritual matters can their "Lord" help them. Each man must bear his burden alone. Gautama is thought to have wrought innumerable miracles of the most astounding character in order to make men pause, and to compel them to worship his omnipotence; but he is never supposed to have wrought a miracle to alleviate the lot of any of his disciples. "You must endure or enjoy your lot, and I mine." Again, when a Burmese wishes to asseverate most solemnly the truth of what he is declaring, he will say "the Lord knoweth," though Buddhism denies the present existence of any Lord; and if questioned the speaker would own that there is no Lord who knoweth. He will also, however, personify the law, and sometimes say, in the same connection "the law knoweth." Burmans will speak of "the Lord, the Father of mankind," of "the Lord, the king of the law (*i.e.* lawgiver and judge)"; though the impossibility of Gautama, the son of King Suddhodana and his Queen Maya, being such must be patent to all.

Further, when anyone dies the Burman will say, "The Butterfly has fled," though it is of the essence of Buddhism to deny the existence of the soul, and the same Burman will have uttered thousands of times the words, *anicca* "impermanence"; *dukha*, "trouble"; *anatta*, "unsubstantiality" or "no soul" (or as the Burman would render it "not *my* body"—*i.e.* "there is no *ego*"). In their devotions all Burmans will express the desire to reach Nirvana; but they have neither hope nor wish to get there. Their longing is rather to reach the *nat* world in order to have a superabundance of sensuous pleasure; or at least they hope that by virtue of their good deeds they may be born again

as men in a higher position than they hold at present. Still their scriptures tell them that forgiveness of the least sin in thought or word or deed is an absolute impossibility ; and they illustrate this by telling a well-known story which shows how the embryo-Buddha in one of his existences as a king performed good deeds innumerable and but one evil deed, a momentary loss of temper. They tell how that he was driving through the " High Street " of his capital when the axle of his chariot wheel struck against a hut which a poor widow had, without permission, put up there. In anger he bade his men destroy the hut ; and though he speedily recovered himself, and in pity for the poor widow had built for her a very commodious house, for this one offence, despite all his good deeds, he suffered in hell for eighty thousand years.

Again the Burmese will acknowledge that their worship of the *nats* ("spirits") is "false doctrine," and must damn them hereafter in the lowest hell ; yet they will complacently make an offering of food for the *nats* to eat, in order to propitiate them. The Burman will explain that he does not worship the *nats* in order to get merit (which is his object in following Buddhist customs) but in order to avert temporal evil, or to receive temporal benefit.

This same lack of logical consistency is characteristic of pure Buddhism ; for Buddhism is anything but an intellectual system, though it stigmatises ignorance as the most awful of crimes. Gautama retained from Hinduism a transmigration of *Karma* (the result of one's conduct, good or bad) without any accompanying soul or personality ; he forbade the taking of animal life under any circumstances whatsoever, yet sanctioned the use of animal food, and himself died at over eighty years of age in consequence of having eaten a meal of pork.

The Burmese say that " Life is suffering," for this is the first and fundamental " truth " of Buddhism ; yet a more merry, contented, light-hearted people—one which more persistently refuses to allow suffering to come near them by any anticipation or retrospection—could scarcely be found. To them the question " To be, or not to be " is quite outside practical politics, because they so thoroughly enjoy life ; yet in pure Buddhism, *samvega*, " the dread of

existence" in this world or in any other, is one of the greatest burdens of mankind.

It is an utter mistake to imagine that the charm of the Burmese people is due to their faith in Buddhism. Buddhism teaches that men should be serious, ever meditating that "there is no abiding" anywhere, but that everything must turn to corruption and perish, and that man should care nothing for the world and its pleasures. On the other hand, the Burman is essentially a genial, but passionate, pleasure-loving child. His religion bids him eschew music and all theatrical representations, of which he is extremely fond. His regular custom has been to make a collection in a village, or in some quarter of a town, and a part of the sum total would be devoted, in the form of fruits or other food, clothing, furniture, &c., to the monks, and the other part given to defray the cost of engaging a theatrical troupe for an *al fresco* play, to which admission is free. If a man could not persuade himself that his contribution was towards the religious offering only, whilst he keenly longed to see the play, at least he would hope that in the whole business his demerit would be exceeded by his merit.

Like the Malagasy, the South Sea Islanders, &c.,<sup>1</sup> the Burmese belong to the child races of mankind, and have the charm and the failings of children. The Burman can be, and often is, as generous as any child; he can also be, and often is, as cruel as any child can be; the two opposite characteristics are combined in him. Hence it is that, as one might have imagined, those who have witnessed the Burmese in power have generally been struck by their terrible cruelty—"Their wars," says Colonel Fytche, who after many years' residence in the country became its chief Commissioner, "were more awful than any waged by Moslem or savage powers"; whilst on the other hand, those who only see the Burman in subjection are struck by his light-hearted, amiable, and generous instincts.

Buddhism has very little influence on the life and character of the Burmese in their youth; but it is greatly to the credit of Buddhism that it has had a mellowing effect in making old age venerable. Nothing can be more hateful than a hopeless, selfish, obscene old age; but when the world has ceased to woo him, the average Burman begins

to meditate upon the teachings of the Buddha. Yet even then his religion is but an enlightened form of selfishness ; he strives to restrain himself from breaches of the law, he gives alms, and performs his religious duties simply in the hope that he may thereby reap in his next existence a reward for his good deeds in this. A Burman can conceive of no higher object in doing a good work than to gain merit, *kuthala*. He would either scout the idea of having any other aim in making his offerings, or he would confess that he has no faith in the observances, but that his wife or his neighbours urged him to do it, and that he wishes to stand well with the community at large.

"I cannot remit this debt ; though we are old friends, I cannot help you for the sake of love (charity)," said a man I know to a neighbour of his, "but I will give that sum towards the erection of the *Kyaung* (religious building) you are putting up, so that I may gain merit ;" yet in this instance the man was a Buddhist, and the *Kyaung* was a Christian chapel, and to contribute in this case towards the building of the *Kyaung*, as the man knew, practically amounted to the same thing as to remit the debt.

Few, if any, people spend as large a proportion of their wealth on their religion as do the Burmese. Men and women of means will often impoverish themselves by their liberal gifts for the building of monasteries or pagodas, whilst the very poorest do not begrudge a handful of rice daily to the monks who go their rounds, silently begging for their food—nay, rather, if there be no monk in their village, especially during *wa* (the Buddhist "Lent"), they begrudge the opportunities that their neighbours enjoy in being able to contribute daily. In some respects Burma resembles Europe during the earlier part of the Middle Ages, "the ages of faith," when men and money poured into the monasteries, and the people at large yielded the utmost deference to those who fled the world, unquestioningly confessing the faith with their lips, and observing rigorously its outward ordinances, but at the same time living lives terribly inconsistent with their profession.

Every Burman boy spends some time as a novice in the monastery, wearing the yellow robe, and learning to read and write Burmese, and to recite in Pali some of the

more popular selections from their religious books. There are generally also some very poor boys in the monastic school, who have not as yet assumed the yellow robe, though they live on the alms (*i.e.* food) collected daily by the monk or his deputies. These lads are for the time being on a lower social and spiritual level than the novices, but this is compensated for by the fact that they alone are allowed to partake of food after midday. In the country parts the monastery is often the only school to which boys can go; the girls till recently did not go to any school at all. There are indeed some nuns; but they are not much respected. Women as a class were not much thought of by Gautama. The Buddhist nuns in Burma may be divided into two classes: the old women, who take the white robe because they have no home, and no friends or relatives able or willing to support them, but who do strive to keep the law; and the younger women of whose morals the less said the better.

The occasion of a boy putting on the yellow robe is one of the most memorable in his life. For this one day he assumes the part of a prince among his joyous subjects, and like Prince Siddhartha he lays aside his glory to become a monk. Hundreds, often thousands of men, women and children, flock from far and near to the feast provided, and to do honour to (or rather to gain merit from) the religious observance. The life of a monk is quiet, but not very ascetic; the ordinance that they must not eat after midday is not very oppressive, as they do no active work of any kind. Moreover, one must bear in mind the fact that millions in India from necessity or choice have only one meal a day. Unlike the monks of Europe in ancient days, the Buddhist monks may not weed a garden, or plant an orchard, or till a field, or engage in any manual work, or study medicine or other secular lore. His intercourse with the people is free—in the monastery, on the road, or in their houses; though it is reasonably enacted that women may not go into any part of the monastery at all at night, or in the day-time to any place where they cannot be easily seen from outside; and a monk may not touch a female, not even his own mother, or her clothes, nor should he look upon her face, but screen his eyes with

a large palm-leaf fan. In the morning after sweeping his monastery and saying his devotions, the monk goes through the village, personally or by deputy, to give the people an opportunity of gaining merit by contributing curry and rice for his sustenance. If no one comes in the afternoon to the monastery to chat with him on matters religious or otherwise, he will generally take a stroll in the evening in some quiet part, or go to see some friends in the village. The inmates of some monasteries, especially in the larger towns, have a bad reputation, but it may be hoped that the majority of Buddhist monks in Burma make some effort to keep their vows. There is generally found amongst them a lack of interest in religious and moral matters, and a vacancy of mind which is induced by their very idle life. Very few of them would ever think of mentioning in the compulsory fortnightly confession in chapter any serious transgression they had committed. They cannot live on the reverence and adoration which they so liberally receive, nor on their set meditations on the vanity of life and the corruption and impurities of the body; hence it is no wonder that a very considerable percentage of them fall away. It is difficult to understand how the Burmans can continue to give adoration and alms, as they sometimes will, to a monk whom they know to be faithless to all his vows, and to be really no monk at all; for the monk is in no way regarded as a priest or mediator. The Burmans commonly say that they "worship the cloth"; whilst the more earnest, as well as some who are less devoted to their religion, will say that there is no "brotherhood" of monks now, as the succession has been lost.

Some Burmans, entering the monastery as boys, find that the monastic life suits them, and keep to it all their life. These are especially honoured, and, if they have any pretence at all to learning, their cremation is a great function. Tens of thousands of Burmans, men, women and children, will sometimes assemble together, for three days, to listen to the law and to witness serious "miracle plays," as well as to laugh at dancers and coarse comedy and low mimes, which all take place in the sacred enclosure of the monastery. Most Burmans do not remain long in the

monastery ; they often remain three months in their youth, sometimes for a longer, sometimes for a shorter period.

It is no disgrace for a novice to leave off his robe ; but the Burmese do not like a monk whom they have " worshipped " for years to throw off the robe after he has amassed money by the sale of the religious offerings made to him, and has taken to wife a woman of bad repute ; yet this frequently takes place. A man who has left the monastery may be readmitted, but as far as seniority goes all his former years have been lost to him. When the secretary of the late Thathanabaing (the " archbishop," or chief monk in Burma) threw off the yellow robe on a visit to Lower Burma, and returned as a layman to greet his former chief in Mandalay, the latter said to him, " You will have to come back, you will have to come back, you cannot get your living any other wise than as a monk," and sure enough the man who had never been accustomed to any kind of serious work found this to be so. The prodigal son was welcomed back with a great feast ; but the *ennui* of the monastic life was more than he could endure now that he had once " become a man," and a second time he departed. For some people a lazy life has its attractions, and among these would seem to be the few Europeans who in Burma have donned the yellow robe, though none who know anything at all about Ananda Maitriya (Mr. McGregor) would put him in such a category. Ananda Maitriya is sincere in his Buddhism, which is Western materialism decked with a few customs and ideas borrowed from the hoary past. This however, as an educated Buddhist said to me, is *not* the Buddhism of the Burman. His desire to propagate and to purify Buddhism is intense, but the Buddhists themselves have no desire to see a reformation of their religion.

In a leading article in the *Rangoon Gazette* (of August 24, 1904) dealing with the optimistic address of Mr. McGregor on the occasion of his annual Buddhist convention in Rangoon, we read :

" The Bhikku (monk) seems to have been deluded by a few conversions of Europeans in Ceylon and Burma, conversions which are without any importance, and some of which are due (as a few minutes' conversation with the converts may convince any

one), to motives far from admirable. More than one of these men have no education, they know but little of Christianity and still less of Buddhism, but the indolent life of the yellow robe has appealed to them."

The *Rangoon Gazette* of December 1, 1905, contains an account of the third annual convention of the *Buddhasasana Samagama* ("Society for the Promotion of Buddhism"), when the director of the Society, Mr. McGregor, spoke in a more pessimistic vein, and in this private assembly "of members and friends" met together in a private house, urged those present to do their utmost to purify their beloved religion from its corruptions, especially charms, soothsaying and astrology. The very next day the same paper happened to contain an account of the dedication of a small sand pagoda erected in a suburb of Rangoon, as in hundreds of other towns and villages, in accordance with the directions of some monks in Mandalay, Mr. McGregor's patrons, in order to avert famine, pestilence, and sickness which the astrologers had prognosticated; whilst the same paper, of December 21, 1905, described "the ear-boring ceremony according to orthodox Buddhist rites" of the two daughters of the chief supporter in Mandalay of the "Society for Promoting Buddhism," when after "presents costly and many" had been offered to "the fraternity of the yellow robe," "the Ponnahs (*i.e.* Hindu astrologers of Brahmin descent) began their prayers, invoking blessings at intervals on the candidates."

I have said that we may regard the Burmese Buddhists as in a stage corresponding to that of the inhabitants of Europe in "the ages of faith"; there is certainly much less of religious observance and much more of true religion with us now than then, I think. The coming of the English to Burma may be compared in its moral and religious effect to the Renaissance in Italy, consequent on the advent of Greek scholars from Constantinople. Upper Burma is not touched as yet; there the old faith has merely lost the outward stimulus it had in the time of the kings. In Lower Burma we see a great deal of the building and decorating of pagodas and monasteries at the expense of those who are not themselves fervent believers in Buddhism, but who often scoff at every form of faith.



Patriotism is practically unknown among the Burmese ; the virtue has no name, and the idea cannot well be expressed even by a lengthened paraphrase. Yet in a way, Buddhism serves as a rallying point ; and though it is contrary to the teaching of Buddhism for monks to mix themselves up with matters of state, in quite a number of cases the monastery has been the home of sedition.

Buddhists have their four "worship days" in the (lunar) month, the greater falling on the full moon and the new moon, and the lesser on the eighth day of the waxing and of the waning. A man may please himself whether he will observe the day or no, and as a rule only women and a few elderly men observe the days regularly. On the very great festivals, however, practically the whole population will turn out in their best attire to spend the day at the pagoda or monastery ; and the "worship day" becomes, especially to the young folks, a day of mirth. Gautama denounced trust in works and ceremonies as the third fetter which held men down in sin and wickedness. What would he say could he see his professed followers, on their greatest festivals, on the platform of their most sacred shrine in Rangoon, allowing lewd pantomimic dances and low comedy, the expenses of which are borne by the "religious offerings" of the "faithful" laity ? These shows are witnessed by tens of thousands, whilst the people at their devotions can at that hour scarcely be numbered by hundreds. Many of the annual pagoda festivals are much worse, and brothels are sometimes arranged for by the "elders," so that there may be no lack of "worshippers" at the feast. Music and song and the theatre are tabooed by Buddhism ; no Buddhist monk may lawfully see or hear such ; yet now these performances are commonly held in the monastery compound, and the expenses of the entertainment, which is free to all, are defrayed out of the religious contributions of the people. To the average Burman Buddhism is a matter of works and ceremonies—many think of nothing higher than contributing occasionally to the monk's begging bowl, keeping from time to time the "worship day," and whitewashing or regilding the pagoda. Others, especially in Mandalay, are regular in their daily devotions before some shrine, when one of the more

learned of the laity leads and the others join in. Most frequently, however, each person goes through his own devotions separately, oblivious of what others may be doing or saying. In Buddhism there can be, strictly speaking, no prayer. The ordinary devotions consist in the recitation in Pali or in Pali and Burmese, of religious formulæ, of which the most common is their commemoration of the "Three Jewels"—"I worship (or take refuge under) the Buddha, I worship the Law, I worship the Brotherhood (of monks)". They will also frequently remind themselves of the vileness of the body, and mention one part of the body after another, and remark how all turns to corruption; for Buddhism teaches that matter is evil, man's body mean, and life a curse. How great is the contrast between this and the language of the Psalmist: "I will give thanks unto Thee, for I am fearfully and wonderfully made: marvellous are Thy works, and that my soul knoweth right well."

With regard to prayer, as has been already said, in the hour of agony the soul of the Burman cries out unto God for help. They say "Lord, help" (*i.e.* have mercy), though they deny that there is any "Lord" who can grant mercy. More than this, one of the commonest expressions in the letter of any Burman is, "I pray to the Lord for you every day that you may enjoy good health." Of course, this statement is never taken literally; it is merely a compliment. Almost equally difficult to reconcile with Buddhism is an expression like "the Lord (*i.e.* Buddha) who hath been prayed unto," the name of one of the chief pagodas at Prome. Still more inconsistent with the root principles of Buddhism is the prayer always offered up at the dedication of a pagoda, an image, or a monastery, that all sentient life may share (with the donors) in the merit of that offering.

The monks do not ordinarily preach to the people, but will do so when respectfully asked. Their preaching is a recitation of passages from the "Pali Scriptures" (*i.e.* from the original Pitakas), or from some later or even modern book, and generally deals with the merit to be derived from making religious offerings. In their regular devotions, too, the Burmese will go through the same "commandments," or "duties," reciting their negative confession, in which they declare of each that they have

not broken it. It is, with Buddhists, regarded as a cardinal point, that to dwell on all the good deeds one has done helps to acquire still more merit, whilst to think over one's misdeeds, in however penitent and humble a way, has a sinful tendency; hence they are naturally led by their religion, as well as by "human nature," into devotions which closely approximate the language of the Pharisee referred to by St. Luke. When anyone lies on his death-bed his friends will strive to cheer him, and to help him on his onward journey, by calling to his mind all his good deeds, such as his religious offerings.

The noblest point in Buddhism is its exposition of *maitriya* ("love"); and the "Psalm of Love," written by St. Paul, appeals strongly to the Burmese. "Love," however, as conceived by Buddhists, is a bland passive state, rather than an energetic living force. All sentient life must be loved as an only son is loved by his mother, as Rahula was by his father, Gautama. "Charity never faileth," saith the Apostle; but the teaching of Buddhism is that the perfect attain to the state of life where love and hate are not. "Let no man love anything; loss of the beloved is evil. Those who love nothing and hate nothing have no fetters. . . . From affection comes grief, from affection comes fear. . . . From love comes grief, from love comes fear: he who is free from love knows neither grief nor fear."<sup>1</sup>

Buddhism provides in the main an admirable course of moral instruction for the outer circle, *i.e.*, for those of its adherents who are still in "the wilderness" of the world; but love itself is only a means, and not an end, and the *areeya*, as he reaches perfection, knows no love or affection, however pure, for any person or thing. This condition of freedom from all kinds of desire, or preference for one thing above another, which enables a man to regard all things, good or evil, pain or joy, with absolute indifference and equanimity, is regarded as one of the cardinal virtues.

In his well-known work *The Soul of a People*, Mr. Fielding Hall gives a misleading and inaccurate picture of Buddhism and the Burman, and this both positively

<sup>1</sup> *Dhammapada*, ch. xvi., Max Muller's Translation, in the Sacred Books of the East.

and negatively. Even those who do not know Burma and the Burmese may easily perceive this by a comparison of Mr. Fielding Hall's book with *The Burman, His Life and Notions*, by "Shway Yoe" (i.e. Sir George Scott, C.I.E.). The latter is an interesting and accurate work, written with the utmost sympathy for the Burman and his religion, as may be seen from the fact that the "International Buddhist Society" elected Sir George Scott as one of their vice-presidents on account of this work.

According to Buddhism, marriage is an unholy thing, and no monk would ever think of countenancing it by his presence at a wedding feast; though marriage is permitted in order to avoid still worse disorders. The consequence of denying any sanctity to marriage is that matrimony among them is in practice very rarely "holy," as even the reader of *The Soul of a People* may perceive. Though there exist proper marriage customs and ceremonies, these are not regarded as necessary. Consent constitutes marriage, and consent constitutes divorce; though the village "elders" are sometimes called in as witnesses in the former case, and generally in the latter. A Burman of position and wealth may, and often does, have several recognised wives who are generally installed in separate houses; and though this is not approved by the people as the ideal state of affairs, yet his status in the social or "religious" world would not be affected thereby.

If we contrast the Burmese village "elder" with his English compeer, the average middle-aged farmer, we find much which each might learn of the other. The Burman is more polite and much the better talker—it is astonishing how many of the uneducated even can talk easily in good Burmese style; he will talk about the duties of his religion, and its outward ordinances which he carefully observes. He will talk much of the uncertainty of life, and will say, "King Death has planted his standard," "the sun is getting low, it will soon be setting," and that his only hope is before he goes hence to gain sufficient merit to secure a happy existence hereafter, for the average Burman believes, despite his Buddhistic faith, that more of him will survive than the resultant of his actions, good and evil, which is *karma*. He is a total abstainer from alcoholic liquors, and

is abstemious in most of his habits ; he is contented with himself and his lot, and is kind too, to the poor—at least in the way of giving them meals. On the other hand he is generally proud and conceited ; he will frequently lie, though not quite indiscriminately, and will use language viler than “ Billingsgate ” should he be provoked. Indeed, he is far from having overcome what he regards as, next to taking life, the worst of sins—namely, anger ; neither is he in business matters “ a man of his word.” If he is frugal, which is not often the case, he will grind the faces of the poor by his extortionate usury, which sometimes amounts to more than cent. per cent. per annum ; but more frequently he is indolent and a borrower, and wasteful, and he often ends by cheating his creditors. He is not careful to screen his children from the knowledge of evil, but is anxious to screen them from punishment, which he himself will not inflict on them unless in anger. He is not often malicious ; but should his anger be roused he will endeavour to work harm by word and deed, where his English compeer would confine himself to wishing evil.

The attitude of the Government towards all religious and towards missionary effort is, theoretically, neutral. The prevalence of peace and quietness in the land, as contrasted with the incessant broils and wars of the times of the Burmese Buddhist kings, the reputation for justice which our British courts of justice have gained, the confidence which can generally be placed on the word of an Englishman, the care which the Government takes of the welfare of the people as manifested by the numerous hospitals and by the humane treatment of the criminals in its jails, combined with the fact that the governing race are Christian and the knowledge that they are at the same time superior to themselves in moral qualities as well as in intellectual power—all these things tell strongly among the Burmese in favour of Christianity. And yet it sometimes seems as if on the whole the influence of our British nation and Government is against the spread of Christianity. I do not mean, what is sometimes stated to be the case, that this is because the moral conduct of so many Englishmen out in Burma is bad ; for even if the special

charges brought against our fellow-countrymen were true, the life of the average Burmese official, more especially "in the old days," the time of the Burmese kings, was always marked by the same vices, without having the redeeming virtues of the average Englishman's life and character. But to many Burmans it seems that the Englishman has no religion at all, or that if he has any it has not much concern with his life and character, and that he does not owe any of his virtues to it, that it is but a part of his "customs," even as his clothes are. The average Britisher in Burma has no very strong or definite religious beliefs, and is lax in his religious observances. He seems to have but little faith in Christianity, though he has much more than he professes; whereas the Oriental mind naturally thinks that every man has much less inward religion than outward profession. Hence it is that Christianity does not get the credit for the virtues possessed by English people.

The religious instincts of the Burmese are opposed to the fundamental "truths" of Buddhism; they do not really believe that "life is suffering"; they cannot but believe that man has a soul, and that this soul will continue its existence though the sphere of its action be changed; they too, "feel after God, if haply they may find Him." In Buddhism there is no sustenance for the hungry human heart. So Buddhists have added to the moral teaching (I do not say "practice") of their professed faith a belief in the existence of spiritual powers, who are ever working weal or woe, which was handed on to them by their animistic forefathers. They have gone further than this; these more or less capricious spiritual beings of limited intelligence and power do not satisfy them—they feel that after all there exists, eternally, a "Lord," though they attempt to identify this unknown Lord with their own teacher, who died more than two thousand years ago, and who now (as they all own) "does not exist" at all, "having neither soul nor body." He has finished his course like "as a lamp goes out when the oil is all consumed and the wick all burnt up."

G. WHITEHEAD.

missionary work as now carried on, has been adhered to, and its large and increasing circulation in all parts of the English-speaking world appears to justify the hope that the purpose with which it started is being to some extent fulfilled. In order to assist in making it more widely known, we shall be pleased to send copies of a new prospectus and specimens of *THE EAST AND THE WEST* to any of our readers who will endeavour to increase its circulation.

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*An Old Missionary Problem.*

THE Bishop of Madras, in the instructive article which is contained in the present issue, discusses a problem which is as old as is the story of Christianity, but which possesses exceptional interest in India at the present time in view of the recent progress of Christian missions. We need hardly remind our readers that the Bishop had long experience of missions to the educated classes as head of the Oxford Mission to Calcutta, before he became Bishop of the diocese which has witnessed the conversion to Christianity of uneducated natives on the largest scale. He is, therefore, better entitled to a hearing than perhaps any other Indian missionary. Those who desire to concentrate the efforts of Christian missionaries upon the towns in North India, where the majority of the educated and intellectual Hindus are to be found, but where converts are comparatively few, and those who desire, as the Bishop does, that the main attack on Hinduism should be made in Southern India, where, humanly speaking, it would be certain to succeed, are both accustomed to quote the example of St. Paul in support of their action. It is doubtless true that St. Paul did on one or two occasions, "with almost startling promptitude," cease to preach the Gospel to people who would not listen, but when we review his missionary work as a whole it is to find that he did, as a matter of fact, concentrate his efforts on the great centres of intellectual thought such as Rome, Corinth, Thessalonica, Ephesus, and Antioch. Whether or no we should be justified in sending a single missionary, now working in North India

among the more intellectual classes, to start work in Southern India, there can be no doubt that the extraordinary readiness of the peoples of Tinnevely and of the the Telegu country to embrace Christianity adds greatly to the responsibility of all who are in a position to help, that is of all Christians everywhere. We trust that the appeal which the Bishop makes may be fruitful of result. At the time when this review will be issued its Editor will be engaged in visiting some of the mission stations in South India concerning which the Bishop writes.

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*The Congo  
question.*

THE vehemence of the language employed by most newspaper and other writers who have from time to time decried the Belgian administration throughout the Congo districts have made us slow to believe that the case could be as black as was represented. Later on, when a summary of the evidence collected by the Commissioners appointed by the King of the Belgians was published, we found it impossible to believe that King Leopold would, or could, refuse to take instant and effective action to remedy the appalling abuses attested by his own Commissioners. The definite refusal of the King to take any such action has at last made it evident that if any help is to reach the remnants of the Congo tribes, whom the King has treated worse than the Israelites treated the Canaanites of old, it will have to come from England and other Powers outside Belgium. Sir Harry Johnston, in the preface to a book, a notice of which occurs later on, speaks of the "sardonic indifference to the real condition of the natives entrusted to his charge," and says that he possesses "a conscience which seems indurated against evidence, against shame, against the terror of an immortality of bad renown." In view of the King's refusal to take any effective measures to guard against the continuance of the atrocities which have been brought to his notice by competent witnesses, we do think that these words are too strong.



*Chinese edict for  
the abolition of  
opium.*

IF it were not the case that anti-opium edicts have been issued in the past by the Chinese Government which were never intended to take effect, the

Imperial edict which was issued in Peking on September 20 for the abolition of opium smoking would, indeed, mark a crisis in the history of China. It is quite certain that if the Chinese mean what they say, the English Government will co-operate with them in any action which they may take for stopping the importation of opium into China.

The edict declares that disregard of the laws forbidding its consumption has been followed by an extension of the use of opium over almost the entire Empire, which has increased the poverty of the people and the weakness of the nation. The throne now orders the abolition of the use of opium within ten years, and commands the Council of State Affairs to draft the requisite regulations giving effect to the decree, and to bring about the necessary restriction of the cultivation of the poppy.

The edict was issued as a result of the recommendations of the Commissioners who have returned from abroad, after consultation with Yuan Shih-kai and Tang Shao-yi.

One of the last acts of Bishop Hoare of Hong-kong, whose death all interested in missionary work in China will deplore, was to sign a petition addressed to the English Governor of Hong-kong praying that steps be taken to devise means for the restriction of the consumption of opium in Hong-kong.

## REVIEWS.

*Savage Childhood; a study of Kafir children.* By Dudley Kidd.  
314 pp. Published by A. & C. Black. Price 7s 6d. net.

A PREVIOUS work by the same writer entitled "The Essential Kaffir" was noticed in this Review (October 1904). In it the author attempted to discuss the beliefs, customs, and mental characteristics of the various native races in South Africa. In the present volume he attempts the much more difficult task of describing the instincts and mental processes of the children belonging to these races. In doing so he is treading a hitherto untrodden field, for, although many books have from time to time been published which have attempted to investigate the minds of white children, it is doubtful whether any has yet been issued which contained a similar study of their black brothers and sisters. The book is one which will be of special interest to students of psychology and anthropology. In the chapter on the dawn of self-consciousness we have a description of the confusion which exists in the child's mind between its self and its clothing or possessions, or even its shadow or its name. We should have found it hard to answer the question addressed by the little Kafir boy to his mother, "Is this body my real me?" or even that asked by the black boy on waking in the morning, "Have we changed from the people we were yesterday?"

It is sad to be reminded of the fact that the savage is, at his best, "intellectually, emotionally and morally, at the dawn of puberty." It is this fact, however, which adds interest to the study of savage childhood. As the author says, "childhood, so far from being beneath our notice, is the most important, instructive, and interesting period in the life of a savage. In nothing is this more marked than in the case of the imagination. Not a few observers have pointed out that the imagination in the Kafirs runs to seed after puberty: it would be truer to say that it runs to sex. Our main aim in the education of backward races should be to draw and discipline and strengthen the various faculties and specially the imagination of the children, so that when the age of puberty arrives, these faculties may be able resist the degenerative

and blighting tendencies that must soon arise. The politician in South Africa pays attention chiefly to the question of the franchise of the native ; the statesman is profoundly interested in the education of the children." One of the most fascinating chapters which the book contains deals with the play of Kafir children. The writer introduces the subject by saying, "Nothing makes the European feel his kinship with the Kafirs more than watching the games of the children. Nearly every game we play in Europe that does not require much apparatus is also known by the Kafirs. If a small black boy were suddenly to be dumped down on the sands at Margate, he would be able to enter into most of the games played there. This fact is of immense significance." After describing one game, a sort of modified solitaire, played by natives in the Transvaal, the author says : "It so happened that I was writing out the present chapter in Egypt ; on going out for a walk, I found the game just described being played at the foot of the great Pyramid. Doubtless it was also played in the days when the pyramid was being built." The book is illustrated throughout with beautiful photographs of children, several of which show them engaged in play.

In the chapter on the development of the faculties we read :—  
"As a rule black children do not show even a vestige of a developed conscience about the wrongness of such things as stealing and lying until the age of puberty—and not always then. The distinction between 'I may' and 'I may not,' may be clear? but there is no sense of 'I ought' or 'I ought not.' Girls show a conscience sooner than boys, and when a girl has attained the age of puberty she often begins to talk about 'the two hearts' within her or 'the two voices' speaking to her. One voice is gentle and pleading in the way it warns against things dimly felt to be evil : the other voice is imperious and rough—as from 'a spirit that denies' the harm of that which the other condemns. It is doubtful whether a white man can possibly grasp fully the fact that a girl who is the subject of these voices is often in a state of honest doubt as to which she should follow."

One story *apropos* of the dulness of Kafir nerves is too good to be omitted. "Occasionally," the author says, "a native is as susceptible to pain as any European, and dreads even the pulling out of a tooth ; but as a rule he is very callous. A Johannesburg doctor told me that on one occasion a Kafir came to him to have two teeth pulled out. The price was arranged in advance. When the teeth were both out, the Kafir only offered half the fee, saying that the doctor did not give him anything like enough pain to deserve the whole amount."

We would suggest to our readers who may order this book that it would be a welcome gift to send to their missionary friends

abroad, who might be thereby led to study for themselves the subject with which it deals, and some of whom might be able to carry forward the investigation which has here been so ably begun.

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*Shinto, the Way of the Gods.* By W. G. Aston. Published by Longmans, 1905. 390 pp. Price 6s.

THIS is perhaps the most complete and trustworthy account of Shintoism which has appeared in the English language by a writer who is already known to English students as the author of several books relating to Japanese literature. The object of the present work is to trace the historical development of the older Shintoism from which the more modern cult has been derived. In the chapter entitled "The Deification of Men," he says :

"The importance of the deification of human beings in Shinto has been grossly exaggerated both by European scholars and by Japanese writers." In support of his contention that the gods of Shinto were chiefly nature gods, he says :

"An analysis of a list of 'greater shrines' prepared in the tenth century, yields the following results : of the gods comprised in it, seventeen are nature deities, one is a sword which probably represented a nature deity, two are more or less legendary mikados, one is the deified type and supposed ancestor of a priestly corporation, one is the ancestor of an empress, and one a deceased statesman."

Ancestor worship as known in China has apparently no real place in Shintoism, and there appears to be no evidence of its existence before the sixth century.

Speaking of the absence of idols from the national religion, he says :

"The absence of idols from Shinto is not owing, as in Judaism and Islam, to a reaction against the evils caused by the use of anthropomorphic pictures and images, but to the low artistic development of the Japanese nation before the awakening impulse was received from China."

The moral maxims which are frequently associated with teaching of modern Shintoism were absent altogether from its earlier teaching. Thus we read :

"Shinto has scarcely anything in the nature of a code of ethics. Zeus had not yet wedded Themis. There is no direct moral teaching in its sacred books. A schedule of offences against the gods, to absolve which the ceremony of the great purification was performed twice a year, contains no one of the sins of the Decalogue . . . Motoori (a Japanese writer) thought that moral codes were good for Chinese, whose inferior natures required

and the new is illustrated by Dr. Tisdall's remark : " There is no political liberty in Persia ; the people are not allowed to take any part in politics." Since those words were penned we have read in the papers that the Shah has granted a constitution to his subjects —perhaps because he thinks paper is cheap. Still, there is movement of some sort, and throughout Islam liberal ideas are fermenting. The papers on China are melancholy reading. They reveal an immense Muslim population, calculated at 30,000,000, as accessible to the Gospel as other Chinamen, and having yielded converts here and there, but for whom nothing special is being done.

The most instructive, and at the same time encouraging paper in this collection is the one by the Rev. G. K. Simon, of the Rhenish Missionary Society, on the evangelisation of the Mohammedans of Sumatra. Out of 4,000,000 inhabitants of the island 3,500,000 have been brought over to Islam within the last five centuries, but it seems as if this process has been brought almost to a standstill, and that chiefly by the work of this mission among the Bataks of the Eastern part. Herr Simon gives a careful account of the pagan condition of this powerful and vigorous tribe, and of the accommodation practised by the Muslim missionaries, especially in the matter of magic and worship of ancestors. The position of women and the dignity of marriage have undergone a distinct change for the worse in the case of the Muslim Bataks. The Christian community also offers a strong contrast with the Muslim in the matter of education, and its medical missions are a powerful lever. From among the Batak nation some 62,000 converts have been gathered, in addition to 10,000 catechumens. Of these 6,000 and 8,000 respectively are converts from Mohammedanism. In the religious life of these converts, Herr Simon notes "the concentration of their religious thought and aspirations upon Christ" and their greater realisation of Christian eschatology, as compared with converts from paganism. Apparently in both respects Islamic teaching has been a preparation for the clearer grasp of Christian truth. This is an exception which must not be overlooked to the rule that the adoption of Islam bars the way to the Gospel. Not only in Sumatra, but in India and elsewhere, there is evidence that the theocracy of Islam will yet do its part in contributing to the riches of the City of God. We hope that Herr Simon's informing and stimulating monograph will be expanded into a book on the work in Sumatra.

To say that these reviews of the Mohammedan world contributed to the Cairo Conference are very unequal in merit is only to say what is true of every such collection. But the volume as a whole will well repay perusal, and must command the serious

attention of all students and promoters of Christian missions. For though we may distinguish the Muslim world from the Pagan as an object of missionary study, their needs are inextricably mingled, and the most urgent problems of the work are those which present themselves on the great border marches of Islam and paganism in East and West.

We hope too that the study of this volume may help to rouse the Christian Church to a sense of the greatness of the task, to co-ordinate her efforts to perform it, and to give a more thorough equipment to her evangelists among the higher Mohammedan races.

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*The Nature and Purpose of the Universe.* By J. Denham Parsons.  
550 pp. Published by T. Fisher Unwin. 1906. Price 21s. net.

THIS book is not so appalling as its title, its size, and its method of argumentation portend. On the contrary, despite its 550 octavo pages of close print (little enough, of course, for a solution of the riddle of the universe), the book is easy to read and decidedly interesting. Every one has, consciously or unconsciously, some working theory of life; the author offers us a reasoned one, in which his conclusions on sixteen fundamental problems of the universe (Haeckel, we think, was content with seven) are not only the most rational, each in itself, but are all mutually accordant. And the work is more than this, for it is meant to be both a philosophy and the expression of a creed, by one who is a Christian, a Churchman, and a member of the Psychical Society. And in all this the author is obviously and perfectly sincere.

The main purpose of the book is easily stated. It is an attempt to formulate a theory of the life of the soul after death by a theory of pre-natal existence. Mind is the only true entity; the Infinite Reason being the alone self-existent, while finite minds have a derivative but real existence of their own. Mind without form is inconceivable, and this form is furnished at every stage by matter, which has only a phenomenal but not a "substantial" reality. Finite minds start as sentient, not as reasoning individuals; they commence as primitive germs, devoid even of instinct, but capable of sensation, or, in other words, of interior response to outward suggestions. By a gradual process of evolution they are, in this world at least, born as human beings, and in that stage they acquire, or may acquire, a personality, which is defined to be the power of reasoning about reason. After death this personality is further developed in forms imperceptible to our senses, and by manifold trials, throughout an infinite number of stages, to a point of ideal perfection; but this ideal always preserves the individuality

of the soul; it never reaches a point where the finite is absorbed in the infinite. Individual wilfulness may delay the process, but it cannot defeat the plan; every individual must ultimately rise. Nor is it reasonable to suppose that this process is confined to the inhabitants of the earth; it is a rule of the universe, and must apply to all living beings, *i.e.* to all that has substantial reality throughout the worlds of space. To put the matter still more briefly, mind alone is real; the Infinite Mind alone is self-existent; finite minds, which have a derivative reality, are in a perpetual course of evolution towards a higher plane of existence, and this process ends in a development of the highest personality. Free will, pain, and death are integral elements of the process. The evolution of personality is the purpose of the universe. The above, as we understand it, is the gist of the book, although we have, for convenience' sake, used the word "soul," which the author designedly omits.

Some extracts will illustrate this summary, and perhaps better explain the author's meaning.

"Mind animates every living form." "Life is demonstrably a property or function of mind" (p. 63). "That a mind cannot exist without a body is absolutely true" (p. 397). "A finite mind cannot rationally be conceived to exist as an individual in a bodiless condition" (p. 26). "Two bodies, incarnate man may and indeed, as has been demonstrated elsewhere, doubtless does possess" (p. 369). "A previous existence of reasoning man presumably was pre-existence as a sub-human mind, ascending by evolution to human potentiality" (p. 485).

"It is not rationally conceivable that a man can exist after the death of his known body unless he in some substantial sense existed before the conception of his known body" (p. 24). "It is . . . wholly irrational to suppose that our own, a little globe, is the only inhabited globe." "The knowledge that we shall for ever go marching on in whatsoever direction the sum-total of our choosings up to date from time to time shall determine, and shall have chances of meeting all the great dead who never died, intelligences from other of the spheres which sweep through stellar space, the ancestors we have heard of, but never more than heard of, the loved ones who passed on before us . . . this and but little more than this, and that the justice of the Infinite which we have believed to exist should be made manifest to us. And as to an 'eternal Sabbath' and rest for ever and ever, most obviously no self-respecting person can in any life desire any such thing" (pp. 411, 412).

"The work should be taken as a recognition of the facts (1) that personality is but another name for humanity as an ideal; (2) that in the last analysis there are but two religions before man-

kind, namely that of the salvation of man by obliteration of personality, or self-effacement, and that of the salvation of man by augmentation and elevation of personality, or self-fulfilment" (p. 18).

Such being the author's main thesis, he carries on a vigorous controversy with all theories which differ from or oppose his own. The materialists are overthrown by means of Lord Kelvin's all-pervading "æther" and Professor Thomson's "electrons." We have chapters on Indian and other re-incarnation theories, on *Karma* and theosophy, on Mr. Myers and Sir Oliver Lodge. The author prides himself on considering all objections and doing justice to everyone, and more of the work is taken up with criticism than construction. The constructive part of the work consists on chapters of instinct, heredity, the sub-liminal consciousness, suggestion and automatisations, personal identity, genius and multiple personality, and the evidence of spirit-appearances after death.

The author further goes on to consider this philosophy as an ethic and a creed, or rather as a distinctively Christian creed. We have, therefore, a discussion of free-will (which the author makes a property of human personality, but not of the infant or of the animal world), also of the place of injustice and pain as educational influences in the development of the soul. But these subjects occupy little of his space. On the other hand, a large part of the work is taken up with New Testament criticism and theology proper. Christianity is the Gospel of the Resurrection, and the *Logos* doctrine—the doctrine of "the uttered word and the thought unspent," as the author is fond of calling it—is, according to him, profoundly true, although not exclusively Christian. On the other hand, the Gospels are treated with the freedom of the most advanced German critic; the Resurrection is, of course, admitted, but not the "empty tomb," or the Resurrection on "the first day of the week"; it was an immediate change of state. Paul founded Christianity by proclaiming the universality of the Gospel and the omnipresence of God, while "Jesus, our hero," as He is habitually called, "to whom the obligations of Christianity are almost overwhelming," lived and died a Jew. The author further finds it necessary to discuss, or give his verdict at least on, such deep and varied questions as the Personality and Omnipresence of God, the Trinity, the meaning of the Death upon the Cross; also of ecclesiastical pronouncements on the theory of *metempsychosis* and the doctrine *ex nihilo nihil*. Even the origin of Christmas has a chapter to itself, which appears a trifle disproportionate in a book devoted to the sixteen fundamental problems of the universe.

We have followed the author as scientist, philosopher, and



theologian. Having studied the nature of the universe, he might have devoted some attention to what men had previously said of it. Had he done so he would have found a number of predecessors who shared his views. For instance, the ascent of the soul was the centre of all Gnostic speculation; and Basilides traces its history, precisely like the author, from the primitive and undeveloped germ. It is a common idea, held even among savages, that mind cannot exist without a more or less material form, and Tertullian himself dared to ascribe a body to God. The ætherial shape which, in the author's opinion, is probably the garb and constant companion of the mind (p. 398) reminds us of the *linga sarira* of the Hindu philosophers; in fact, if the author pushed his inquiries sufficiently far back, he would find, like the late Mr. Myers, that savages and backward civilisation had already anticipated him on many points.

If the author is not a historian, neither is he a metaphysician or a mystic. Of metaphysicians he takes little or no notice, and mystics he eschews. His method is to hold an assize of what he calls reason, or, as we should call it, common sense, before which he argues all the *pros* and *cons* which occur to him regarding the proposition on its trial, and then to decide according to his innate ideas of what seems most probable. The method is simple, but it is of the essence of the book that it should seem elaborate. It therefore opens with a great apparatus of prolegomena, theses, postulates, definitions, and the like, which help to give it a scientific air of rigid demonstration, although we think they often beg the question. The style is in keeping with the method; affecting an air of rigid demonstration, it makes most unreasonable demands on our attention. The author appears to be a good man, a true lover of righteousness; but he is utterly without any sense of the mystery of things. And he has a sublime confidence in the power of common sense, or what he would call reason, to solve everything in heaven and earth. Admitting that the plane in which the dead must live is totally different from our own, he applies human processes to them in the crudest fashion. The other great defect of the book is its superficial cocksureness, a defect generated doubtless by its would-be scientific rigour, but compatible with a good deal of shallow thinking.

The main thesis of the book is an attractive theory, and has attracted many minds in the past; it will do so at the present time, when theories of re-incarnation are in the air. The author's attempt to build up a theory of life on the basis of modern psychology and the researches of the Psychical Society is in the fashion of the time, and the lovers of "New Thought" will find in it some things that are useful, and may do them good. But for ourselves we have not found it helpful.

*Overweights of Joy.* By A. Wilson Carmichael. 300 pp. Published by Morgan & Scott. Price 4s. 6d. net.

THIS is by the same author as *Things as they are in South India*, and is written in an equally attractive style. The life of women in South India, especially of those devoted to the Hindu temples, was painted in the latter book in such dark colours that, to many, the picture seemed well nigh incredible. In the present volume the authoress dwells on the many encouraging signs which are met with by those engaged in Christian missionary work. The book consists of a series of incidents which are recorded with considerable dramatic power. Few could read it through without becoming conscious of a desire to help forward the cause of missions in India. For those, however, who would join in the work, the writer has words of wise warning which she quotes from another missionary: "Do not go to any foreign field until you know beyond a doubt that God has himself sent you to that particular field at that particular time. There is a romance or halo about being a missionary which disappears when you get on the field. . . . Nothing but the fulness of the Holy Spirit will carry anyone through, and if you do not know that you have received this, do not fail to obey the command to tarry until you be endued with power from on high. The foreign field is already full enough of prophets that have run and He did not send them."

The book would do well for reading aloud. It is very well illustrated.

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*Words of Strength and Wisdom.* By E. Steere, Bishop of the Universities Mission to Central Africa, 1874-1882. 126 pp. Published by the U.M.C.A. 1s. 6d. net.

A LITTLE book of extracts from Bishop Steere's writings. The extracts are, many of them, very forceful and are nicely arranged. They are edited by the Rev. W. B. Trevelyan.

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*Twenty Years of Continental Work and Travel.* By the Right Rev. Bishop Wilkinson, D.D., of Northern and Central Europe. With a preface by the Right Hon. Sir Edmund Monson, Bart., late H.B.M. Ambassador at Vienna, Paris, &c. 461 pp. Published by Longmans. Price 10s. 6d.

SIR EDMUND MONSON describes in the preface of this book the responsibility which attaches to the work of the English chaplains on the Continent. He is within the truth in emphasising the value of the superintendence of the Bishop, and the importance of his visits to the several chaplaincies, and of the conferences at

which they meet under his presidency in different places year by year.

Although Bishop Wilkinson's record of his work is a simple one, it is by no means mere routine. He is constantly in contact with all sorts and conditions of men, from royal personages to sailors and jockeys. The importance of the work arises not only from its pastoral side, but from the fact that the Bishop is the official representative of the Church of England to those who do not belong to its community. On reaching Moscow, for instance, in 1896 he found that ecclesiastics were gathered there from all parts of the Russian Empire. Hearing that he was there, they expressed a wish that he should join them. He did so, and his visit did much to promote good feeling between the Church which he represented and the Orthodox Russian Church. Some of the proposals which were then put forward may not be without their effect in drawing the Eastern and Anglican Churches nearer to each other. The book is full of anecdote, and its readers can learn from it much of the work among the innumerable English people scattered all over Europe, and of the countries in which they dwell.

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*T'ai-Shang Kan-Ying P'ien, treatise of the Exalted One on response and retribution*, translated from the Chinese by Teitaro Suzuki and Dr. Paul Carus, containing introduction, Chinese text, verbatim translation, explanatory notes and moral tales, with sixteen plates by Chinese artists. 139 pp. Published by Kegan Paul. Price 3s. 6d. net.

THE translator of this book claims on its behalf that the editions which have been published of it exceed in number those of the Bible or of any other book in the world. The word T'ai Shang is a title of Lao-tze. The present work, which is "a work of Taoist piety and ethics," shows traces of Buddhist and Confucian teaching, and did not assume its present form till about the fifteenth century of our era, though portions of it probably date back to the sixth century B.C. It has already appeared in an English translation, but the present edition will be welcomed by English readers, whether students of the Chinese language or not.

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*Religious Education: how to improve it.* By the Rev. C. C. Drawidge. 322 pp. Published by Longmans. Price 3s. 6d.

LAWBRIDGE will be known to many of our readers as the author of a book entitled *The Training of the Twig*, which, as we all know, has been re-issued in a sixpenny edition. The

book represents one of the happiest fruits of the present educational controversy. To explain its purpose we cannot do better than reprint its preface. "When rival religious ideals come into violent collision, two results always follow: (1) Much temporary harm is done to religion; (2) A permanent enlargement of ideals takes place. This book is concerned solely with the latter. It contains many suggestions which would be equally useful to the teacher in a colonial or missionary school as to teachers in English elementary schools. The author quotes Bishop Dupanloup as saying: 'It is my profound conviction that the world would be saved if we devoted ourselves to the children,' and as maintaining that he himself, as an adult, owed everything to his efforts to teach children."

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*Red Rubber: the Story of the Rubber Slave Trade on the Congo.*

By E. O. Morel. With an introduction by Sir Harry Johnston. 213 pp. Price 2s. 6d. and 3s. 6d. Published by Fisher Unwin.

WE commend this book to the perusal of any of our readers who are not already convinced that the atrocities which have been perpetrated in the name of the King of the Belgians in the Congo districts are not a disgrace to humanity. In the preface Sir Harry Johnston, who contributed largely to place the King of the Belgians in his present position on the Congo, denounces his rule in language as vehement as has ever been used by the missionaries. We note that in attempting to suggest some immediate action he is opposed to the proposal that the country should be governed by an international commission on the ground that "there is as yet no international conscience." He urges, as the most practicable course of action, that it should be taken out of the hands of King Leopold and should become a Belgian protectorate to be administered by the Belgian Government. The book is well compiled and cannot fail to carry conviction.

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*The Children's Creed, being a simple explanation of the Apostles' Creed.* By Agatha G. Twining. 108 pp. Published by Mowbray. 2s. net.

WELL written in language suitable to read to quite young children. The illustrations add greatly to the attraction of the book.

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*Doctor Alec.* By Irene Barnes. 200 pp. Price 1s. 6a. Published by the C.M.S.

THE author describes it as "a story composed of stories." It is intended to appeal to young boys

*The Higher Hinduism in relation to Christianity.* By T. E. Slater.  
Price 3s. 6d. Published by Elliot Stock.

WE are very glad to see yet another edition of this valuable book. We hope that the reduction in its price will help to increase its circulation. It is one of the best books ever published on Hinduism.

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*The Way to Teach the Bible, according to the method in use at the Church of Ireland Training College, Kildare Place, Dublin.* By H. Kingsmill Moore, D.D. 120 pp. Price 2s. Published by Longmans.

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*Pandita Rawabai, the story of her life.* By Helen S. Dyer. New edition, in paper, price 1s. ; in cloth, 1s. 6d. Published by Morgan & Scott.

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The *Nineteenth Century* for October contains as its first article a translation of a long street placard from Hunan in Central China, which has also been circulated in pamphlet form throughout the province. Its contents afford a significant illustration of the growth of patriotism and of the spread of enlightened views on many subjects in a province which has long been known for its uncompromising hostility to foreigners. Referring to missionary work the placard says: "There are people in this country who say that foreigners should not be allowed to come and preach their religion in China. . . . Such sentiments betray a certain lack of insight and understanding. . . . When we want to go to foreign countries . . . if we want to preach there the doctrines of Confucius they make no objection . . . it is only because our methods of disseminating doctrines are unlike foreign methods that no missionaries of ours are sent abroad." The second article in the same review is by the Bishop of Madras, its subject being the Village Deities of South India. The Bishop gives a graphic description of the ceremonies connected with the worship of these deities (which are in almost all cases goddesses) and discusses their possible origin. He says: "There can be no doubt that the ceremonial observed in these sacrifices gives very substantial support to the theory that the original idea of sacrifice was not that of a gift to the Deity, but communion with a supernatural power." The article deserves to be carefully studied.

# The East and The West

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APRIL 1907

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## CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN CHINA AND JAPAN.

I HAVE not the advantage of being able to write about mission work in Eastern countries from the standpoint of one who has taken a personal share in it, and what I have to say on the subject is as a layman to laymen, but a layman who has passed more than half of his life in parts of the world which are peopled by non-Christians. During the past eleven years, first at Tokio and afterwards at Peking, I have been placed in a specially favourable position for seeing and hearing what was being done, not only by English missionaries, but by those of other nationalities both in China and Japan. Moreover, I have had the privilege of counting many of them among my personal friends.

What I have to say, then, about missions, though it may have a wider application, will refer in the main to missions at work in China and Japan. I propose to begin by discussing *some popular objections to missions*, and then to refer to the valuable work accomplished by missionaries, passing on afterwards to what appear to me the principal difficulties encountered in the spread of Christianity, particularly in the two countries mentioned—to the progress made and the prospects for the future.

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**NOTE.**—Readers of this Review are reminded that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, under whose auspices it is published, is not prepared to endorse the particular views expressed by the several contributors to its pages.

People are apt to speak of missionaries without making any distinctions, as if they were one body. In regard to this point, it seems to me worth while to endeavour to clear up what is a common misconception. First of all, there is the division into what, for the sake of convenience in classification, I must be allowed to call the Protestant and the Roman Catholic missions. The latter are mostly French, though in China there are also Germans, Belgians, Italians and Spaniards.

The Protestant missions are chiefly English or American (I omit some other nationalities which do not work on an extended scale), and there is a further division of these into missions of the Church of England and those of the Non-conformist bodies. The Church Missions are chiefly supported by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts and the Church Missionary Society. The others are connected with the English and American Congregationalists (known as the London Mission and the American Board Mission), the Scotch, Irish, Canadian and American Presbyterians, English and American Baptists, and English and American Methodists. There are also very many smaller bodies represented in the mission field; and in China there is the great China Inland Mission which may be described as undenominational. It is the largest missionary body at present working in China, and its members number 800 to 900 persons of both sexes. There are also here and there individual missionaries affiliated to no religious body, who have felt a personal call to evangelise these countries, and are in many instances self-supporting. The Roman Catholics and the various Protestant missions have never been willing to partition heathen countries among themselves, so as to prevent overlapping, but, on the contrary; the different societies establish their missions wherever they find it convenient or desirable. When we have realised this great diversity of missionary agencies, all working side by side, often in the same place, we are brought face to face with what is perhaps the *commonest objection to missionary work*. Put briefly it is as follows:

“The great diversity of missionary agencies must result in a religious chaos, and therefore we ought to wait until we

are all united before undertaking missionary work." There are not wanting critics who suggest that the presence in one locality of several missions professing different forms of Christianity must be very perplexing to the native inquirer. In practice, however, it does not often happen that any serious inconvenience arises, except in certain parts of China where hereditary feuds exist among the peasants, and adherents of the opposing parties happen to come under the influence of Protestant and Roman Catholic missions respectively. In such cases friction arises from time to time between Christians belonging to different missions, and scandal results. I do not think that our missionaries are much to blame in this matter, but I know of localities where the most perfect harmony exists between the foreign missionaries, and where there is a mutual avoidance of interference with each other's converts. That the co-existence of numerous schools of Christianity in one place really operates to prevent conversions seems to me hard to believe. Does the existence of at least twenty recognised denominations in England outside the Church deter anyone from joining whatever religious body appeals most to him? Instances occur of Englishmen and Englishwomen being brought up without any religious belief whatever, who yet on attaining the age of discretion come voluntarily to be baptized. Evidently the multiplicity of sects has no effect on them, and it is inconceivable that the existence of differences of ceremonial in worship, or even in doctrinal teaching, should frighten away anyone from inquiring into the truth of Christianity. If any pagan should allege that he sincerely desired to be a Christian, but could not take the decisive step because he was confronted with so many rival claims to his obedience, I should seriously doubt his good faith, and remind him that though in his own country there were many sects of Buddhists, divided from each other by feelings of the bitterest intolerance, that state of things did not prevent men from belonging to one or the other sect. I conclude, therefore, that the allegation that diversity of forms of worship or even of doctrine, in itself, keeps men away from joining any specific church has no foundation at all.

The *second objection* I would notice is that based on the



indifference to missions shown by the foreign mercantile communities, who are, it is supposed, in a peculiarly good position to judge fairly of missionary work. It is, perhaps, true that nowhere is the absence of sympathy and support more conspicuous than among the foreign commercial communities settled in heathen countries. This may be explained in the following way: The man of business takes up his abode there for another motive than the missionary. His object is to acquire a livelihood for himself, perhaps to make a fortune that will eventually enable him to return to his own country—a very natural and legitimate motive, to which no blame can be attached, but still a self-regarding motive. I do not wish to suggest that the foreign merchant is animated exclusively by selfish motives. I am merely describing his object in residing abroad. The object of the missionary is of an opposite kind. He chooses what is often a life of privation and discomfort in a trying climate, nay, even of danger, in order to bring to the people among whom he elects to pass the best years of his life the blessings of religion, which, in his eyes, are the greatest prize this world can offer, and to spend himself for their spiritual, social, moral, and intellectual elevation. That is to say, he is not thinking of his own comfort or worldly advantage, but is devoting himself to the good of others. Between two classes of men whose presence in the country is due to such opposite aims and objects, how can sympathy be expected to exist? As a rule, they are naturally antagonistic. I need only mention their attitude towards the opium trade in China as an example. It is true that some of the best men among the foreign mercantile community have always condemned it, and have refused to touch that branch of commerce. But these are few in number, while the missionaries, who are daily brought into contact with the people and are able to see the effect produced by opium smoking, are unanimous in demanding that the trade shall be suppressed.

My answer then to this objection is that the foreign merchant is not, as such, a good judge of missionary work, because he is naturally out of sympathy with it. He is there from an entirely distinct motive, his mode of life is very different—for he is well-to-do and missionaries are

poor—and he is apt to resent disorder which interferes with peaceful trade, and to regard the missionaries as its cause.

The *third objection* I have met with is this. There are persons who assert that the religion of the country is the best for the natives of it, because it forms a part of their daily life, and is bound up with all their social traditions and institutions, and that to disturb their belief by endeavouring to make Christians of them is to do them an injury. They ask what would be our attitude towards a Confucianist or a Buddhist who should preach in the streets of our cities and try to make proselytes? Should we not offer the most strenuous opposition, and would not the inevitable and natural consequence be mob-violence directed against the Asiatic foreigner who attacked our cherished beliefs? Sometimes these arguments may be heard even from those who are regular in attendance at their own Christian services, and, it is to be hoped, sincerely believe their own religion. To these it may be answered that Christianity is not the exclusive right of Western nations, but is intended for all mankind, and they may be asked whether the native who is a sincere Christian is not a better man than the pagan, even though the latter may live up to his light. I think that they will find it difficult to deny the superiority of the Christian.

*Another plausible contention* that is sometimes urged is the great expenditure of the missionary societies. “Why was this waste of the ointment made? For it might have been sold for more than three hundred pence, and have been given to the poor.” So calculations are brought forward to show that to make one Christian involves an expenditure of hundreds, perhaps thousands of pounds. Such calculations it is difficult to follow. But what sincere Christian would place his belief in the scales against a sum of money, however large? Would he part with it for the wealth of the Indies? Will he give it up for life itself? Will he not rather say that the soul of one man is of greater value than the whole annual revenue of the British Empire, because the infinite and the finite are not commensurable in his arithmetic?

The *last objection* I wish to meet is also a very common

one, especially among those who live in our large cities. It is argued that we should not undertake to spread Christianity abroad while there is yet so much to be accomplished at home. No doubt it is a lamentable fact that in all classes of society there are very many who do not profess to regard themselves as Christians, but it can hardly be said that they have had no opportunities, and that religion has not been preached among them. It is true that there remains much to be done before every man is brought to acknowledge his own need of religion. Everyone must confess that he still falls far short of what he ought to become. But at least he has had an opportunity, and surely this is all we have a right to claim for ourselves. If we were to lay down a rule that Christianity must not be preached to heathen nations until the whole population of the British Isles is radically converted, all the missionary work of the past two hundred years must be condemned. But if, as I hold, no man can claim more than the opportunity of embracing the Gospel, the objection falls to the ground. And let us remember that to refrain from establishing missions to the heathen would be a direct disregard of our Lord's commands to His disciples to go and teach all nations, and to preach the Gospel to every creature.

I have tried to deal with some common objections to missions. Let me turn to a pleasanter topic, their results, and consequently their justification. Looking back over the last fifty years in Japan, and the last seventy in China, must it not be admitted by every candid man that those countries are indebted chiefly to missionaries for every form of real improvement, to the introduction of a more elevated morality, to the practice of charity, to the establishment of schools, colleges and hospitals? What benefits but those of a material nature have been conferred on them by other foreigners who have resided among them? Do we really think that railways and telegraphs, or armies and navies, are as great benefits to a country as those I have alluded to? If we do, is there no danger that our commercial interests have warped our judgment?

Let me dwell somewhat more in detail on the great benefits which have accrued from Christian missions. I

pass over for the moment, but I do not under-estimate, the greatest of all—the benefit of Christian truth and the Gospel of our Redemption.

There is, first, the introduction of *medical missions*, the alleviation of physical suffering. Last February a new hospital and medical school, supported by English contributions and staffed by English and American medical missionaries, was opened at Peking. This great boon is the crown of the medical mission work done in Peking for the past forty odd years, since Dr. Lockhart of the London Missionary Society first opened his hospital there in 1862. The same work has been developed all over China, while in Japan the venerable Dr. Hepburn, an American missionary, opened his first dispensary at Kanagawa as far back as 1859, and missionary doctors have paved the way for the wonderful spread of medical knowledge that we are familiar with in the Japan of to-day.

Secondly, take the subject of *education*. The existing educational system in Japan, which a high authority has pronounced to be superior to our own, was initiated by a well-known American missionary, Dr. Verbeck, in the early seventies. In China the first English dictionaries, phrase-books and grammars for facilitating the acquisition of the difficult language of that country were the work of Dr. Morrison, Dr. Medhurst and other missionaries, while in Japan the pioneers in this branch of knowledge were three American missionaries, Mr. Liggins, Dr. Hepburn and Dr. Samuel Browne. It was from missionaries that the Japanese received their first notions of constitutional government and personal liberty. In China the association for the translation of foreign works on history and science was organised by missionaries. Go where you will in that country, in every large centre you will find a school that has been started by missionaries. I am justified therefore in stating that the real good which the peoples of Japan and China have derived from their intercourse with foreigners has mainly been conferred on them by the exertions of the missionaries.

But what about *direct results of evangelistic work*?

A question that I have often heard asked is whether any progress is being made in the conversion of heathen

nations. Let me take China first. I answer that in China there is real if not rapid progress. I am inclined to think that the Buddhism of China and Japan may possibly prepare men's minds in some degree for the reception of Christianity, even if Confucianism robs it of its full effect. For the far Eastern form of Buddhism teaches self-renunciation, not however entirely for the sake of self, which appears to be a characteristic of primitive Buddhism elsewhere. There is a doctrine of a future state of bliss or misery, and it is told of Buddha that he was willing to renounce bliss for himself on condition that he might save others. On the other hand, the influence of Confucianism is not so favourable to Christianity. The philosophy of Confucius and his followers concerns itself exclusively with the regulation of social and political conduct, and professes to know nothing about the supernatural. It may be summed up in the virtues of goodness, charity, propriety, wisdom and good faith, and takes a concrete form in the duties of subjects to their sovereign, of obedience of children to their parents, and of a wife to her husband, of the respect to be shown by a younger to an elder brother, and of fidelity among friends. In China it is the second of these which overshadows all the rest, and lies at the base of what is usually spoken of as "ancestor worship." It must frankly be admitted that filial piety appears to be more of a living sentiment amongst the Chinese than it perhaps is with ourselves. But the doctrine of "filial piety" in China is often pushed to exaggeration, and the correlative duty of parents to their children is scarcely mentioned. It may fairly be said that the whole of Chinese moral teaching is concentrated in this doctrine of unquestioning obedience to parents. The virtues of truth, honesty and purity of life do not seem to be much insisted on, and self-sacrifice for others than parents is relegated to the background. That there are excellent people among the Chinese, charitable men who found schools and orphanages, I am quite ready to admit, but they are the exception, and what appeals to the Chinese mind as an aim to be pursued with unswerving devotion is the accumulation of worldly goods. To such a people a religion of self-sacrifice for the good of others—such as Christianity is—is not likely to appeal strongly as furnishing a rule of life. It is

in this respect then that I am led to regard the influence of Confucianism as antagonistic to Christianity.

But there is in China one other very real hindrance to the progress of Christianity. I do not think that there is any hostility to Christianity as such. Buddhism is a religion of foreign origin, and so is Mohammedanism, which counts many adherents, especially in the north and north-west of China. As the late Lord Salisbury said at a meeting of the S.P.G. some years ago, religion ought not to rely on the arm of the flesh to support its propaganda, and St. Boniface, the apostle of Germany, was not followed by a squadron of gunboats. But foreign governments cannot allow their countrymen to be murdered in the exercise of a ministry which is secured to them as a treaty right. The main objection of the Chinese to Christianity is this, that it is under foreign protection. The so-called positive philosophy, or the religion of humanity of Auguste Comte, or the philosophy of the late Mr. Herbert Spencer, would be equally regarded as foes of Confucianism, if propagated under the same conditions. In spite of these difficulties, however, there is no doubt that progress is being made. I am not in possession of statistics, but the information I have derived from missionaries in whose accuracy of statement I have complete confidence, shows that the numbers of converts are constantly growing, and that too in an increasing ratio. The reproach so often made that these are of the class stigmatised as "rice-Christians" is rebutted by the fact of the multiplication of chapels and preaching stations, especially in the south, which are largely supported from funds contributed by native Christians. It is also to be hoped that the awakening of China to the merits of Western civilisation, which is evidenced by the Commission sent to foreign countries last year for the purpose of studying foreign methods of government and administration, will have the effect of inducing the Chinese people and their rulers to look with greater friendliness on the religion professed by the leading nations of the world, which has so profoundly modified the character of nations that were little better than savage barbarians at a time when China had already attained to a high standard of civilisation.

If the tenacity with which the Chinese hold by their

ancient traditions and rules of morality makes it difficult to win them over to the creed of Christ, the same characteristic ensures that when once converted they will not easily be induced to deny their religion. This was shown in 1900, when thousands of them in the northern provinces laid down their lives rather than purchase immunity from persecution by burning incense to idols.

I come now to Japan, a country and nation famous in the annals of the Church. The people were the delight of the first Europeans who came in contact with them, capable of rising to the highest degree of self-abnegation, courteous, generous, enterprising, proud, fond of knowledge and glory, endowed with the keenest intelligence and the liveliest artistic feeling. Such the Japanese were three and a half centuries ago ; such they are to-day, for national characteristics have a permanence that surprises us when we read the descriptions of early travellers.

The great apostle of the Indies, St. Francis Xavier, one of the founders of the Society of Jesus, was the first Christian missionary to land in Japan. He commenced his apostolate in 1549, laboured in various provinces for two years with extraordinary success, and then embarked for China. He died, however, without being able to set his foot on the shore of the promised land. His successors in Japan, for nearly fifty years, had the field to themselves. They founded colleges, built churches, translated manuals of devotion such as the "Imitation of Christ," composed catechisms and religious treatises, and laboured unceasingly and with great success to spread the Christian faith. After the union of the crowns of Spain and Portugal in 1580, leave was also obtained by the Spanish Franciscans, Augustinians and Dominicans of Manila to send their missionaries to Japan. They had not been long at work when a sanguinary persecution broke out, and a company of twenty-six, consisting of missionaries and converts, were put to death at Nagasaki by crucifixion early in 1597. From that date onwards the rulers of the country unrelentingly pursued the missionaries and their converts, until, about 1640, of nine hundred thousand native Christians estimated to have been brought into the fold, not one was believed to be left.

Yet, in spite of persecution and rigorous measures of repression, a small and faithful band still continued to practise their religion in secret, handing down from generation to generation the rite of baptism, the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the main elements of the teaching they had received. At last, in 1865, a few years after the chief ports had been thrown open to foreign residence and commerce, some of them were discovered visiting the recently erected Roman Catholic Church at Nagasaki. Further search was made, until some five thousand were detected. These unfortunate people were torn away from their homes and exiled to the bleak northern coast, in spite of friendly remonstrances from the foreign ministers. But the comparative mildness of the measures adopted, as compared with the earlier persecution, was evidence that the newly established government was not intolerant at heart. In a few years an entire change came about. The denunciatory edicts against Christianity placarded in every village during the previous two and a quarter centuries were removed, the exiles were allowed to return to their homes, and it became known that in future no one need fear to profess Christianity. The few missionaries who had resided at the ports since 1859 were joined by others, and they soon began to reap the fruits of their labours in the baptism of converts. The year 1873 may be regarded as the active commencement of the modern evangelisation of Japan. In somewhat over thirty years the number of converts who have joined the various churches is reckoned at over 150,000. This includes 54,000 Roman Catholics, and somewhat over 28,000 members of the Russian Orthodox Church. I am quoting from the statistics of 1904, compiled by the Rev. Dr. D. C. Greene of the American Board Mission, who adds that these numbers represent a community of fully 450,000—that is, about one per cent. of the total population. He takes the annual increase at ten per cent. This is a growth that is very encouraging, and compares not unfavourably with what we are told of the numbers attained during the earlier period of which I have spoken. Progress during these years has not been at a uniform rate. For instance, after the successful war with China in 1894-5,



there seemed to be an ebb in the tide, which may be ascribed to the great commercial and manufacturing expansion that followed on the payment by China of a war indemnity of nearly £40,000,000 sterling. This is not very surprising. When the mind of a nation is mainly occupied with schemes for the accumulation of material riches, it is not likely to spare much thought for spiritual things. Since then the Japanese people have been engaged in a far more formidable struggle with a powerful military nation. A great demand has been made upon them for sacrifices of every kind, to which they have willingly submitted ; for the lives of their nearest and dearest ; the sacrifice of ease and comfort accompanied by a heavy burden of taxation ; nor has the conclusion of peace brought any money into the national coffers. All this has induced a frame of mind more favourable to the reception of religious influences. Already I am told by one missionary in Tokio that he finds it necessary to double the accommodation in the church which he built less than ten years ago, and that is not the only instance of the kind that has come to my knowledge. I feel convinced in my own mind that the outlook is promising, and that if we cannot look forward to a period when Christianity will be officially recognised as the religion of the whole people, there is yet every reason to hope that, before many years have passed, Japan will have become in fact a Christian country.

What may be the general character of the difficulties which missionaries encounter in the conversion of different races, I am naturally not in a position to say. But, looking at the question from a layman's point of view, I am disposed to believe that the conditions are much more favourable in Japan than elsewhere. Fortunately for both Japan and foreign Powers the old treaties of commerce contained no clause stipulating freedom for missionaries to teach, nor for converts to practise the Christian religion. There was no right of interference on behalf of converts, no virtual protectorate of missions, and no attacks on missionaries ever took place in modern times. The constitution promulgated in 1889 accords complete religious liberty. Buddhism has been disestablished and disendowed, while Shinto, even if in a certain restricted sense it may be spoken of as a State

religion, is not taught in the schools. More than that, the fact that a man has become a Christian involves no social disadvantage and is no bar to high office in the State. I have also heard it stated, and I regard it as highly probable, that, other things being equal, a Christian is preferred for positions of trust. There is no prejudice against Christianity on the ground of its being a foreign religion, but, on the contrary, it is widely recognised as the source from which all social improvement and elevation of the people may be hoped for. It may safely be said that the Japanese people are as well prepared to accept Christianity as any non-converted nation ever was, and that their ultimate conversion will be more genuine than that of nations who have submitted to be baptized because their rulers willed it. This is a wonderful change in the attitude of a whole nation to have taken place in less than fifty years—more marvellous to my mind than the military skill which they have developed and of which the world has had recent proofs.

If it be asked to what causes this favourable disposition is due, I should be inclined to assign it mainly to the co-operation of two factors. In the first place, the Japanese form of civilisation found by St. Francis Xavier and his successors in the sixteenth century, and by the modern pioneers of missionary work in the nineteenth, was not indigenous. It all came from abroad, that is from China, and found ready acceptance because it was recognised as meeting an urgent want. Constitutional forms, legal codes, religion, social philosophy, arts and manufactures, even methods of agriculture were imported from China, and with them the Japanese people were contented as long as they knew of nothing better. But when they were brought into contact with Europe, a disposition at once showed itself to cast off the old and to adopt the new, because it was at the same time the better. Nothing is more noteworthy about the Japanese than their capacity for discerning what is good and applicable to their own circumstances, whether in the region of the concrete or in that of ideas. It is not always necessary that the new idea should be pressed on them from without; let them come in contact with it and they absorb it with rapidity. Their mental receptivity in this respect is quite remarkable.

A second factor to my mind is the capacity for self-devotion which characterises the Japanese people as a whole. In former times—that is to say, during the feudal period that lasted in Japan down to our own days—the followers of the great barons among whom the country was divided regarded it as their first duty to be ready on all occasions to lay down their lives for their feudal lords. The pursuit of wealth was held to be unworthy of a gentleman, and they often lived in a condition bordering on poverty. Nothing could exceed the simplicity of their lives. Their houses were almost bare of furniture, their food and clothing were of the plainest, and the only kind of property on which they expended their small economies was the swords which they wore for the defence of their lord's honour and their own. After the revolution of 1868, when the feudal system was abolished with the voluntary consent of the great barons, this sentiment of loyalty was transferred to the sovereign, who was brought forth from the seclusion in which his predecessors had remained for eight hundred years or more, and placed again at the head of the State. The code of the poor gentleman was also the ideal standard of conduct for the common people, who were brought up in the traditions of the ancient warrior heroes. It was this feeling of devotion to the sovereign that animated the breasts of the Japanese soldiers in the late war, and impelled them to fight with such heroic self-sacrifice. To die for his Emperor and for his country is regarded by a good Japanese as the highest and first duty of a man. He has in him the true spirit of a soldier and a gentleman. Self-sacrifice for a noble cause is the ideal which he has always before him, and he is ready to accomplish that sacrifice without the prospect or hope of reward here or hereafter. Such a character I cannot but think affords the best basis on which the Christian life can be built up, for it is in essential harmony with that of the Christian who devotes himself to the service of his Master and to that of his fellow-man.

ERNEST SATOW.

The substance of this article was given by Sir E. Satow as an address at Birmingham.

## POLYGAMY AND CHRISTIANITY IN SOUTH AFRICA.

AMONG the many difficulties which the South African Church in her missionary capacity has to confront, polygamy holds a foremost place. In almost every one of our ten dioceses it meets us in a greater or lesser degree ; for there is not one of the nine dioceses on the mainland where the Church has no work among the Bântu. It is not, of course, the case that every heathen Kafir (this unfortunate term may be adopted for convenience sake) is a polygamist ; a very large number nowadays are not so. Dudley Kidd, in his "Essential Kafir" (p. 398), gives the number of polygamists as reputed to be "3 per cent. in the Transkei, and 11 per cent. in other districts." It is also true that polygamy is on the decrease. On this point the South African Native Affairs Commission (1903-5) writes as follows (p. 57) :

"Polygamy generally is on the decrease throughout South Africa ; this is due amongst other things to the increased cost of living, the loss of cattle, and the consequent increase of the difficulties in obtaining 'lobolo' consideration, and the increase in the proportion of men marrying."

On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that the ordinary Kafir is extremely conservative, and a great slave to custom ; that polygamy is an old-standing institution ; and that the women, on the whole, are in favour of it partly because it lessens the labours of the individual wife, partly because it seems to confer a certain dignity. We must, therefore, be prepared for its continuance for many years to come.

As missionaries have always recognised, and as the Commission again points out, polygamy in itself consti-

tutes a great barrier to the acceptance of Christianity. This is only to be expected ; and there is no need to dwell upon that which everyone can see for himself at a glance.

Probably, however, few people give a thought to the numerous difficulties that arise in connection with polygamy with reference not only to the polygamists themselves, but also to their wives ; difficulties which call for an accurate knowledge of native life and custom, which ramify in various directions, and to the solution of which Christianity is only gradually feeling its way.

The Lambeth Conference of 1888 dealt with certain broad aspects of the subject in its Resolution 5, which ran as follows :

“(A) That it is the opinion of this Conference that persons living in polygamy be not admitted to baptism, but that they be accepted as candidates and kept under Christian instruction until such time as they shall be in a position to accept the law of Christ.”

(Carried by 83 votes to 21.)

“(B) That the wives of polygamists may, in the opinion of this Conference, be admitted in some cases to baptism, but that it must be left to the local authorities of the Church to decide under what circumstances they may be baptized.”

(Carried by 54 votes to 34.)

In our own province the Provincial Missionary Conference (which is not a legislative body) in 1892 passed the following resolution on this subject :

“That this Conference desires respectfully to call the attention of the House of Bishops to Resolution V. (b) of the Lambeth Conference on the baptism of the wives of polygamists, and requests them to promulgate a uniform rule for the guidance of the clergy of the province.”

Accordingly, in 1893, the Episcopal Synod took the matter into consideration, and resolved that—

“The wife of a polygamist, not allowed by her husband to leave him, may not be admitted to the Catechumenate or to Holy Baptism without the special sanction of the Bishop, after he shall have fully considered the circumstances in each individual case.”

The Bishops had already, in 1883, dealt with the particular point which is covered by the Lambeth Conference,

Resolution 5 (A), and decided that "No man still living as a polygamist can be admitted to Baptism or to the grade of Catechumen."

We may sum up, then, so far, as follows: Polygamists, as such, cannot pass beyond the status of Hearers. Wives of polygamists, not allowed by the husband to leave them, may not be admitted as Catechumens or baptized unless the Bishop approves. Such approval may not be given *en bloc*, but each separate case is to receive full treatment from the Bishop.

All this, as far as it goes, is simple and straightforward enough, but we are still only on the threshold of the subject. Now the polygamist, and afterwards his wife, becomes the centre of a group of questions, on the answer to which must depend the course of action that is to be adopted.

We have seen that the man living in polygamy is not to be admitted to baptism. But we believe that baptism is "generally necessary to salvation." The obvious conclusion would seem to be that the polygamist is to be encouraged to free himself from his position in order that he may by the sacrament of Holy Baptism become a member of Christ.

That is probably the line that would be adopted by an earnest young missionary, when he came out fresh from home, if he were left solely to his own unaided guidance. But would such a course be really right? Would it be fair to all the parties who will be affected by the action? How far is the hardship involved, a necessary taking up of the cross of Christ, which presses heavily upon him who bears it, and also unavoidably casts its shadow upon others? May it not, perhaps, be the case that to dismiss the wives is to do evil that good may come? That their repudiation means the casting off of real responsibilities by which the man is bound, and which he has no right to lay aside?

It is not, of course, contended that the marriage of a heathen polygamist, effected in native fashion, carries all the force of the Christian union. The South African bishops, in 1883, expressed their mind on that point quite clearly. "A previous native marriage-union or contract," they say, "is not of so close or binding a character as that

of Christian marriage, and need be no bar to a Christian marriage with another person after conversion, provided all previous legal obligations have been fully discharged." The last clause requires to be particularly noted, for it is full of significance.

At this stage it will be well to refer back again to the Resolution (A) of the Lambeth Conference. The words, "until such time as they shall be in a position to accept the law of Christ," are indefinite and ambiguous, and admit of more than one explanation. Do they mean simply, "Until the man is ready to accept for himself the hardship and self-sacrifice involved in putting away his wives, with all that such action may entail upon himself"? Or do they mean, "Until he has fully discharged all the obligations which belong to the marriages that he has already contracted"? Or do they point to the possibility that God alone can free him from those obligations, and that until such time as he is so freed by the death or the voluntary withdrawal of his wives, he must remain unbaptized?

Our own Provincial Missionary Conference of 1895 passed a resolution on the subject of polygamy which begins with these significant words :

"That this Conference is of opinion that great caution should be exercised in giving counsel to polygamists who are seeking for admission into the Christian Society."

It must be remembered that marriage among the Kafirs is something very real ; a matter of form and ceremony with its own rites and customs ; it is not infrequently accompanied with genuine affection ; and it entails definite responsibilities. It may conceivably be the case that in dealing with a polygamist we ought to take the line which Bishop Smythies (hypothetically) indicated to his Synod in 1884 :

"The only thing we can do is to bid him to wait till God makes a way, consoling ourselves with the thought that God is not a machine, that He is not tied even to the means which He has Himself appointed, that He can, when He will, and as He will, unite people to His Church, and that we can with the utmost confidence leave such a case to His Fatherly goodness."

Let us imagine the case of a Kafir with three wives, on whom the Holy Spirit has worked so powerfully that he is filled with an earnest desire to receive the sacrament of Holy Baptism, and is ready to make any personal sacrifice, however hard it may be. He has lived with his wives for years, and he loves them dearly; but he is prepared to let them go. The children are very dear to him, and he needs the boys to look after the stock, and he hoped to get cattle later on for the girls; but if the repudiated wives—still heathen, and not in the least understanding their husband's extraordinary action—refuse to go unless they can take their children with them, he will give up children as well as wives. He paid cattle for his wives years ago—well, the sacrifice shall be complete, he will not ask for the cattle back again. It is not merely that he is sure that such a request would be useless, for it is through his own doing that the wives are to return home, and not through their fault; but he takes the loss of all as part of the cross that he has to carry. It is probable that his action will offend the relations and friends of his wives; but Christ must come before any earthly friends. He is prepared to make provision for the maintenance of the wives that he is going to put away—that is to say, that he is ready to strip himself on every side. It may well be the case that all this *personal* sacrifice and loss is only right. But the question still remains, Has the man any right to do all this? Is he not putting away real responsibilities and genuine obligations if he sends his wives and children away? Surely mere maintenance does not satisfy all the obligations of marriage and parentage. And now he is beginning to understand, as he never understood before, something of what these responsibilities really mean. He is very anxious that the wives and children should themselves be brought to know Christ. Will a repudiation of duties, and a banishment of wives and children to their original heathen homes, be likely to recommend Christianity to them? Would not such action rather be an actual shock to the heathen conscience?

This last suggestion may strike the reader as far-fetched and unreasonable. But it is a fact that many experts, both in Cape Colony and Natal, not only in the



Church of the Province, but also in the Dutch Reformed Church, consider that such action would be a real shock to the heathen conscience.

To resume. If the man puts away his wives, what will become of them? They would almost certainly return to their parents; but "in purely heathen society" (so wrote Bishop Callaway to me, twenty-two years ago) "they would be regarded as women suffering grievous wrong, and the husband as a wrong-doer." What is much more important to notice is this, that there is a strong body of opinion which asserts they would be tempted to sin.

Personally, I have never been able to adopt this view, nor was it a view taken by Bishop Callaway, who had more than thirty years' experience of Zulu and Kafir life. The women would be under no obligation to remain single, and there would be, to my mind, very little doubt that they would marry. At the same time it is impossible to ignore the opinion of many of our own missionaries, as well as those of the Rhenish and Moravian Societies, that they would be tempted to sin. If this view be correct, can it be right, we may ask, for the husband to put them away?

I knew one case of a polygamist who solved the difficulty by ceasing to live with his second wife, although she still remained in his immediate neighbourhood with her children and lived under her former husband's protection. It was a position, obviously, of great temptation, and although in this particular case no evil resulted from it, the course of action was not one that could be held up for imitation.

It can, then, hardly be a matter of surprise if one shrinks from encouraging polygamists to put away their wives. On this point there is, however, a great diversity of opinion. The question is at once so interesting and so important that I will quote from two letters (never published) written by Bishop Callaway on the subject. In one he says:

"My judgment is that (i) polygamists should not be baptized; (ii) that they have no right to repudiate their wives, one or more, without legal cause, until they have fulfilled all legal and moral obligations incurred by their marriage with several wives."

In the second, written two months later (*i.e.* May 1884), he goes more into details:

"The polygamist, then, or the Church for him, has to consider (i) how he can quit his state of sinful living; (ii) how he can fulfil the legal and moral obligations to his polygamic household. You see it is not a question that he can decide by himself. If it were a question of personal feeling, or of interest of a strictly personal character, which affects him alone, I take it the Christian faith would require him and give him strength to be able to deny himself, whether he was required to put away one wife or ten. But I do not think that the faith of Christ would require or allow him to repudiate whatever obligations he had previously incurred; I do not think he has any right to claim that he must, with the object of entering into a state of salvation himself by baptism, and so ensure his own safety, ignore all his past; and so possibly run the risk of ensuring the present suffering and final loss of *others*. Unless he can free himself in a right and orderly way, and with consent of other parties concerned, his wife (or wives), their children and her relations, from all his legal obligations to them, which are to be fixed and determined by civil courts, I conceive he must remain unbaptized. . . . Both he and the Church have to choose between *two evils*: the repudiation of legal and moral obligations, and the non-observing of the Sacrament of baptism, which in this case really means not to admit an unfit person—one bound by the consequences of the sin of his past life—into the family of God."

Some few years ago, the Missionary Conference of the Diocese of Grahamstown appointed a committee to consider certain questions submitted by the Episcopal Synod on the subject of polygamy. This committee consisted of nine native and two white clergy. The answer to the question, 'Is a polygamist to be encouraged to free himself from his polygamy, or should he be told that he must wait for baptism until such time as God frees him from his polygamous connections?' was as follows:

"A polygamist is to be encouraged to free himself in view of his reception of Holy Baptism, as soon as possible, by providing for his wives whom he puts away, and when he has satisfied the missionary on this point, as well as of the sincerity of his motive, he may offer himself for Baptism, and be baptized with the approval of the Bishop."

It is a little surprising, after one has read this answer, to find the same committee asserting that the repudiated

wives "would be exposed to temptation." In Natal at the same time our European missionaries were, with one exception, unanimous in holding that the polygamist should wait till God frees him ; but the native missionaries there were of opinion that he should be encouraged to free himself. In the diocese of St. John's (so a friend writes to me) "in practice" they "are now very cautious in recommending a polygamist convert to put away his wives on account of the great danger to the latter, and" they "rather urge such a convert to be patient and to wait for Baptism until all such danger is at an end." The missionaries of the Dutch Reformed Church in Nyasaland wrote, some three years ago, that the polygamist "is not encouraged to free himself for diverse reasons. No polygamist, however, may be baptized, as long as he lives in polygamy." I suspect that it would be true to say that most European missionaries of experience in South Africa would not encourage the polygamist to free himself ; while most native missionaries would take the opposite line. In both Western Equatorial Africa and Mombasa, the view is taken, apparently, that the polygamist should wait until he is free.

But supposing that this question has been satisfactorily settled, and that the polygamist believes that his way is clear to put away his wives without foregoing any of his responsibilities, then a further question at once arises : may he put away *all* his wives, and marry another ? Or must he retain *one* ? If so, which one ? The "great wife" ? If the great wife, must she be retained *in any case*, supposing *e.g.* that she is past the age of bearing, or that she remains heathen, while some other wife becomes Christian ?

I can now do little more than indicate the complexity of the questions that arise, and the very varying answers that are given to them in different parts of Africa.

On the whole, as far as our information goes (unfortunately it is distinctly limited) the general feeling in the Church of the Province is in favour of the retention of the "great wife," at any rate if she have not reached a certain age. The Wesleyans and the Dutch Reformed Church take the same view. The Presbyterians say that all wives

must be put away, except the first. Probably in giving this answer they were thinking of ordinary families, not related to the chief. Here the first wife is usually, if not always, the great wife. In the chief's families the great wife is seldom, if ever, the first wife.

To explain the phrase which I have just used, "if she have not reached a certain age," I will quote again from Bishop Callaway :

"When the eldest son marries, and his mother ceases to bear children, she becomes a member of his household ; she leaves her husband's kraal, and practically ceases to be his wife, but still regards him as her head, to whom she owes service and duty, for the eldest son's household and kraal are subordinate to the father during his life, and his mother is an honoured member of it, whilst the father takes a young wife, who lives with him in his kraal.'

The Native Conference in St. John's diocese in 1885 was of opinion that if the chief wife was no longer living with her husband, "some preference might be given to the wife adopted into the chief wife's house (*igadi*)."

If the great wife be not retained, the general opinion is that the man may retain whichever wife he wishes to select. On the question whether a wife may herself forgo her claims to be retained, opinion is again divided.

We may now leave the man, and think of what is to be done in case the wives, heathen when they were married by Kafir custom to this heathen man, afterwards become converted. Are they to be *encouraged* to leave their husband? May they, while still living with their husband, be baptized? This latter question, again, breaks up into several. Is a wife who finds herself in this position eligible for baptism only if she be not allowed to leave her husband? or may she be baptized if she voluntarily remain with him? May any wife be baptized, or is it only the "great wife" who may be admitted to that sacrament?

During the last twenty or thirty years, opinion in the South African Church has somewhat altered, on the whole, not only with reference to encouraging the wives to leave their husband, but also in regard to the baptism of the

wives. What Bishop Callaway taught is plainly indicated in his Life (p. 145):

"The woman is in a different position from the man. . . . The sin of polygamy is his, not hers; she has no power over her position. If, then, one of the wives of a polygamic family becomes a convert, she may be baptized and admitted in due time to all the privileges of Church membership. By allowing this the Church of this day would be acting on the same principle as the early Church, when it made it canonical to admit a concubine to baptism and to Holy Communion, she still living in concubinage. I do not think the Church ought to admit that her husband or friends have any right to stand between her and her God. We leave them legal power over her person, until she can be legally freed from their authority, whilst we demand for her spiritual freedom. . . . I can see no reason why a converted woman may not use all the means of obtaining a separation from her polygamic husband open to her by the law and public opinion of the people."

Accordingly in the Canons, Rules and Regulations of St. John's diocese, in 1885, we find (x. 4)

"A woman living in a state of compulsory polygamy shall be recommended to persevere in all right efforts to obtain her liberty; but her involuntary mode of life shall not be allowed to debar her from Christian privileges; if the missionary is satisfied of the sincerity of her professions, she may be admitted to Holy Baptism."

In 1888 this section 4 no longer appears; if my memory serves me aright, it was omitted because it had not synodical but only episcopal authority, and could not therefore rightly appear in the place among the Acts of Synod. But one may fairly conclude that the Synod of that diocese does not recommend that wives should be encouraged to leave their husband because, although this clause had come before it, nothing similar is found in the present Act of Synod, which runs as follows (as regards the wives): "The wife of a polygamist, if not allowed by her husband to separate from him, may be baptized, and continue to live with him."

In the Bloemfontein diocese at the Sacred Synod in 1877 a report on missions was adopted which stated:

"The clergy, so far as experience among the Becoana is concerned, have, therefore, hitherto admitted to baptism the first wife

of a polygamist on her conversion to Christianity, without requiring her to leave her husband. In case of the conversion of an inferior wife, the clergy have refused baptism until the severance of marital connection between her and her husband had been accomplished."

In the Sacred Synod of 1893 a Resolution was passed to the effect that the wives of a polygamist cannot ordinarily be regarded as candidates for baptism, although there may be exceptional cases.

In the diocese of Zululand in 1883 the following Episcopal Injunction was given. "The wife of a polygamist not allowed by her husband to leave him may be baptized with the consent of the Bishop." In the third session of Synod in 1887 a very wide Resolution was carried, that a wife, or any or all the wives of a polygamist may be admitted to baptism." Apparently this was not found to work well in practice, for in 1893, as I am informed, the then Bishop of Zululand wrote to say that they wished in that diocese to withdraw from their wider position. There is now, I learn, "no regulation" about the matter; "except that the wife of a polygamist may not be admitted to the catechumenate without the permission of the Bishop, the Provincial regulation."

Some doubt may be felt as to the fairness of the inference drawn above from the wording of the Act of the St. John's diocese. There is, however, less doubt as to the position of our missionaries in the dioceses of Grahamstown and Natal in this matter. When the question, "Are the wives of a polygamist to be *encouraged* to leave their husband?" was submitted to the Grahamstown Missionary Conference Committee, the answer was emphatic, "No, certainly not." In Natal, the European missionaries, with one exception, were unanimous in thinking that the wives should not be encouraged to leave the husband: one European and two native missionaries taking the other view. Dutch Reformed, Rhenish and Moravian missionaries all hold that they should not be encouraged to take such a step. Speaking for myself, I can hardly doubt that this view is right. The woman clearly has responsibilities, and although one might possibly be right in urging separation from the husband (who has his other wives) has one any

right to come between the mother and her children ? The bond which unites a Kafir mother to the children is a very real one ; and in the case of a separation of this nature, the children would almost certainly remain with the father. That is to say, that they would lose their mother, and the Christian influence which she would be desirous to bring to bear upon them. Can it be right to urge a course which involves such results ?

It will have been noted that, in considering the position of the wives, some such clause as "if not allowed by her husband to leave him" constantly recurs in the decisions arrived at by different bodies. This is only natural ; one can quite understand a distinction being drawn between one who is genuinely anxious to free herself from a certain condition of life, but is authoritatively and forcibly prevented from doing so, and one who deliberately remains in that condition although she might escape from it. It may, however, be doubted whether it is in reality right to draw such a distinction if the woman remains with the husband solely from a sense of responsibility and duty, because she feels bound by the obligations which she has already contracted. She is not, in such a case, shrinking from any personal sacrifice, or allowing herself to be overmastered by passion, but she believes herself to be morally bound, morally under constraint, to remain where she is.

It has been taken for granted that there really is such a thing as "compulsory polygamy." I believe that there is ; on the other hand, I recollect hearing a missionary of the greatest experience say that he doubted whether it was ever really *impossible* (at least in Kafraria) for a wife to be able to leave her husband. Our Episcopal Synod has not specifically dealt with the case of a wife who deliberately remains with her polygamous husband. But it is an obvious conclusion from its Resolution of 1893 that, at the very least, such a woman could not be admitted to the catechumenate or to Holy Baptism without the consent of the Bishop, after he had fully considered the circumstances of the case. Within those limits three courses seem possible. We may say that Holy Baptism is open to all, to the great wife only, or to none.

Father Puller kindly allows me to utilise a letter which

he wrote to me on this subject in 1892, one which still represents his views. In this he says, speaking generally of the wife of a polygamist :

"The woman is a true wife, and she is married to only one husband. I cannot see why she should not be baptized. It cannot be said that, although after her baptism she is still the wife of only one man, yet she consents to his sinful polygamy. I say that polygamy in him is not a sin. She is not consenting to sin. She is neither sinning herself, nor consenting to sin."

Further on he writes :

"Although simultaneous polygamy was practically unknown (in the society which the early Church had to confront), yet owing to the prevalence of divorce consecutive polygamy was the commonest thing in the world. A man might marry twenty wives in succession, always divorcing the last before marrying the next. These twenty wives might all be alive at the same time. Only the first married would be a true wife according to Christian law. But who ever heard of a woman being refused baptism because she was the wife of a man who had divorced other wives who still survived? I don't believe that baptism was refused to such. . . . This seems very analogous to the simultaneous polygamy of the Kafirs. . . . Possibly some light might be thrown on the subject by the way in which the Church treated concubines in early times. Concubinage was recognised by the Roman law. It was not marriage. The children were "spurii." But the Church baptized concubines under certain circumstances without requiring them to give up their position."

He then quotes from the Apostolical Constitutions, viii. 32, where, in treating of those who are to be received or rejected for Holy Baptism, it is said :

"Let a concubine, who is slave to an unbeliever, and confines herself to her master alone, be received ; but if she be incontinent with others, let her be rejected."

He refers also to St. Augustine, *De fide et operibus*, c. xix. :

"In the case of a concubine, if she shall make profession that she will know no other man, even though she be put away by him unto whom she is in subjection, it is with reason doubted whether she ought not to be admitted unto baptism."



It is probable that the view that wives who deliberately remained with their polygamous husband might be baptized would be adopted by several missionaries of the Church of the province, as well as by those of other communions, but this cannot be affirmed with absolute certainty, as, unfortunately, when inquiries were being made on this subject some years ago, no distinction was made between a wife's voluntary and involuntary position. At that time the Grahamstown Missionary Conference was of opinion that wives of polygamists might be baptized, while still living with their husband, with the consent of the Bishop. Five of our missionaries in Natal thought that the wives might be baptized, while three gave an unqualified negative to the question. Rhenish missionaries said that they might be baptized; but the Moravians allowed this only "if separation is impossible"—*i.e.* they would not baptize in the case that we are now considering. The former custom of our missionaries among the Becoana finds a counterpart in the use of several other religious bodies. The rule of the Dutch Reformed Church in Nyasaland is "to baptize the head wife only." When I was inquiring into the Wesleyan practice in 1892 I was informed that "the *first* wife is not required to leave her husband," all others are required to leave before even being received "on trial as members of the Church." Eleven years later I wrote again to make further inquiries. At that time the whole question of polygamy was to be brought before the Wesleyan Conference; but unfortunately no information has reached me as to what was done. The Presbyterian use in 1892 was to refuse baptism to "all wives except the chief wife." The reason of this lies, of course, in the fact that the position of the great wife is well defined as such. Indeed, so much is this the case that I recollect at a native conference more than twenty years ago the view being put forward that Kafirs were originally monogamous, and not polygamous at all; this argument being based by the speaker (a native) solely on the position of the great wife. On the other hand, it must be remembered that the other wives are emphatically wives, and properly married in Kafir fashion; and it may fairly be doubted whether it is right to make such a distinction between

them as to admit one to Holy Baptism and not the others.

The remaining possible view is that taken by the Sacred Synod of the diocese of Bloemfontein in 1893, that the wives cannot ordinarily be regarded as candidates for baptism, although there may be exceptional cases. We should probably all agree, as Father Puller says, that "polygamy is not" [in the heathen man] "a sin," if by that be meant that it is not, *to him*, a sin. But it is in itself a sinful state; and the woman who, having her eyes opened to its nature, helps to perpetuate it (however much she may be bound to do so, in order to avoid the sin of repudiating real responsibilities), helps to perpetuate that which is *per se* wrong, and which she knows to be such. In the passage quoted from the Apostolical Constitutions a "slave" is spoken of. This would correspond to the case—not probably in reality a very common one—of the Kafir woman who is not allowed by her husband to leave him; a case already dealt with by our Episcopal Synod, and referred to the discretion of the Bishop. The position of a wife still living with her polygamous husband, of her own will, seems to be entirely different from the case contemplated by St. Augustine; and it must be remembered that, even in the circumstances which he adduces, he speaks quite doubtfully of admission to baptism.

It must be conceded that the question is a very difficult one. But I cannot help feeling that when everything has been taken into consideration, the necessity of guarding jealously the sacrament of Holy Baptism against any possible profanation (however unintentional); the need of insisting, above all in a corrupt heathen society, on the divine law of marriage, the union of one man with one woman; the fact that polygamy is in itself contrary to the will of God; the "*tutior opinio*" is to adopt the last of the three views that we have just been considering. And it must be noted that, if we take this line, we are apparently acting in accordance with the judgment of the Lambeth Conference. "That the wives of polygamists may be admitted in some cases to baptism" means, surely, that this is to be the exception, and not the rule. It is still more important to notice that this is also the practice of the rest

of the Western Church. Some fourteen years ago I was told by a Roman Catholic authority, at work in the South African mission field, that he had been told that he would "never get a *general* dispensation for baptism of such wives of polygamists," although he might "obtain very likely dispensation from case to case." As regards the eternal salvation of a woman who might, in these circumstances, die unbaptized, no one would hesitate to fall back upon the truth, "In potestate Dei est præter sacramenta hominem salvare."

Circumstances have unfortunately prevented me from bringing my information as to practice up to date as fully as I could have wished to do ; and I have been able to do little beyond utilising pre-existing material. Enough, however, has been written, one may hope, to serve as a rough introduction to a very complex subject, and to show some of the many difficulties which the Church has to encounter in her dealings with polygamy.

ALAN G. S. GIBSON (Bishop).

## IS HINDUISM CONDUCTIVE TO UNWORLDLINESS?

To this question it is usual to give an affirmative answer. Hinduism has much to say about the vanity of the things of time, and it is assumed that this teaching has its due effect on those who profess the Hindu faith. It is probably this rather than any other aspect of Hinduism that constitutes its main attraction in the eyes of the many in the West to whom it is an object of interest. To some extent, of course, the religions of India are studied in the same way and with the same object as those of China or of ancient Assyria. They are simply portions of the great field of knowledge, to be explored like any other portions. Yet there are many for whom Hinduism has an interest which is not found in the other religions which in our generation have been so carefully studied. In the religions of India, it is thought, there is an element of repose which is peculiarly welcome in our time. Far removed from the din of modern industrialism is the Hindu ascetic, living on the bare necessities of life, and devoting all his time to meditation on the Supreme. The cares and pleasures of the busy world are nothing to him. He has renounced them all, and hardly an echo of them reaches his retreat. We cannot all do likewise, but let us sit at the feet of such teachers and refresh our weary souls with their message; and though we may be unable to leave the wicked world as they have done let us try to cultivate their spirit of indifference to life's vicissitudes.

Nor is it only the ascetic few who are supposed to be imbued with this spirit of superiority to worldly things. Max Müller, after pointing out that life in our cold northern climate must always be a struggle, and is thus conducive to

the development of character along the lines of activity and resourcefulness, goes on to say, "If we turn our eyes to the East, and particularly to India, where life is, or at all events was, no very severe struggle, where the climate was mild, the soil fertile, where vegetable food in small quantities sufficed to keep the body in health and strength, where the simplest hut or cave in a forest was all the shelter required, where social life never assumed the gigantic—aye, monstrous—proportions of a London or Paris, but fulfilled itself within the narrow boundaries of village communities, was it not natural there, or, if you like, was it not intended there, that another side of human nature should be developed—not the active, the combative and acquisitive, but the passive, the meditative and reflective?"<sup>1</sup>

This then is the situation as it ought to be. Climatic and other influences have developed a certain type of thought, and this in turn should so act on the people as to strengthen their natural tendency to meditateness and repose. Yet those who come in contact with the Hindus of actual life find the situation to be very different. The passive and reflective elements are indeed to be found in large measure. The passivity of the people in face of evils like plague or cholera constitutes one of the great difficulties which the Government has to face. If people die of plague it is the will of the gods; what is the use of resisting it? They may be so far inconsistent as to flee from the infected area, but nothing will induce them to fight the disease; and when a well-meaning Government tries to enforce sanitary measures the inertia of the people makes their task a hard one. Meditateness, too, is to be found in abundance. One is constantly surprised at the ability of people in humble life to discuss abstruse questions. Yet if we were asked to sum up in one word the life of the vast majority of the Hindus of to-day, the word would be *worldliness*. Lest in this matter I should seem to be misled by the limited nature of my own experience—for India is so large and its peoples so diverse that one hesitates to make sweeping statements—let me quote the testimony of others. A few days after I landed in India, a

<sup>1</sup> *India: What can it teach us?* p. 100.

missionary who had some experience of work in the Bombay Presidency said to me, "When you come to understand what the people whom you pass in the street are saying you will find that the main subject of conversation is rupees, annas and pies. Hinduism illustrates the truth of Christ's words, 'After all these things do the Gentiles seek.'" Some days later I found myself in the Central Provinces, and a missionary who laboured there remarked, "The Bible speaks of 'covetousness which is idolatry'; it might with equal truth have said, 'idolatry which is covetousness.'" My own lot has been cast in still a third part of India, the Madras Presidency, and ten years' work in the city and the villages, among high caste and low caste, educated and uneducated, has convinced me that what my friends in other parts said of the Hindus with whom they came in contact may with at least equal truth be said of those in the south.

However it may be accounted for, the fact remains that the worldliness of the people is appalling. To begin with the educated classes, everyone is familiar with the charge so often made against the higher education, that men seek a University degree not for the sake of the knowledge which its possession implies, but solely for the sake of the salary and position to which it opens the way. The charge is often stated in an exaggerated form, and is used in an illegitimate way to attack the whole educational system of the country. But that there is a large element of truth in it no one doubts. Ask the average student what his aim is, and he says at once, To get a good appointment. Follow the successful student into life and you find that indifference to such worldly things as money and influence is by no means an obvious feature in his character. Turn to the merchant classes, who as a rule are less highly educated. The fact that they give largely of their wealth for the repair or upkeep of ancient temples cannot conceal from us the dominating motive of their life. Pass to the law-courts and what do we find? Litigants of all sorts and conditions, so numerous as to give ample work to a host of advocates, barristers, and pleaders. So great is the litigation of the country that law is by far the most popular of the professions. What is it all about? Property, for

the most part. The people who come into court set such value on land, houses, rights of way, and other things to which the admirers of Hinduism suppose them to be indifferent, that they will subordinate every other consideration to secure possession.

Yes, some will say, this may be true enough ; but the people of whom you speak are people who have been corrupted by the worldly West. They have come more or less under the influence of ideals other than those of their own land. The West with its lower aims has so taken possession of the country and so dominates its institutions that many have been torn away from the life of contemplation which was that of their fathers, and carried into the swirl of modern industrialism. Now the influence of the West is certainly a powerful factor in the life of the day, and it is unhappily true that it is not always the best features of Western life that people are most ready to imitate. But does not the fact that the West finds in the East so many apt pupils indicate that there is in their mind a strong predilection towards what the West is supposed to have introduced them to ? If India be part of the "unchanging East" why is it that in this most important matter it has been so ready to adopt the spirit of the West, if, as is affirmed, it is alien to its own life ?

But even if the worldliness which is so obvious among those who by education or otherwise have come under Western influence were indeed something alien, we must remember that such people are after all a minority, and among the great mass one might expect to find many whose ideals were purely spiritual. India is a land of villages, and the vast majority of its inhabitants have been little influenced by the forces which have told so powerfully on the dwellers in towns. So long as they are left in peace to live the traditional life they care little whether their rulers be Western or Eastern. Ask them why they do this or that and their almost invariable answer is that they simply follow their forefathers' custom. If, then, we find worldliness rather than spirituality to be the dominant note of the life of the masses, we cannot attribute this to the newer influences that are at work.

Now it is just this worldliness that forces itself on a

missionary's notice at every turn. That his message should be received with indifference or opposition is only to be expected. That a Hindu should be warmly attached to the religion of his fathers, and resent anything that interferes with it, is natural. But what we actually find is that the indifference and the opposition have their root, in the great majority of cases, in worldliness and not in bigotry. The Hindu is fond of an argument, and will often try to lead the missionary or evangelist into a discussion on the origin of evil or some other abstruse problem. Yet my experience has been that for every question asked about a matter of religion or philosophy ten are asked about the relation of the new teaching to livelihood. "What will you give us if we join your religion?" "What arrangements will you make for our livelihood?" "The people in such and such a village 'fell into your way'; little enough they have gained by it: how can you expect us to be so foolish as to follow their example?" "Will your God give us food on easier terms than we get it now?" "If he be the true God let him show it by giving us rice while we do nothing but sit and eat it." Such are the questions which are asked in village after village, till we are utterly tired of it all. Or if the hearer is less discontented than some of the others he ends the discussion by saying, "Our gods have fed and clothed us all our days; we shall trust them to the end."

If this was the standpoint of the depressed classes only one could scarcely wonder at it. The Pariah can hardly be said to be a Hindu. He is forced to acknowledge the supremacy of the Brahmans, and on festival occasions he may put in an appearance and render such worship to the Hindu gods as is permitted to him. But from the temples he is excluded, and of the sacred books of the Hindus he has never heard. Of a servile class, oppressed and underpaid, seldom knowing what it is to have sufficient food, one can hardly wonder that the things of the spirit have little meaning for him, and that the questions he asks are those of the Gentiles of old, "What shall we eat? and what shall we drink? and wherewithal shall we be clothed?" But such questioning is by no means confined to the outcastes. One is sometimes inclined to say that the



main difference between the Pariah and the caste Hindu is that the latter puts the terms on which he will do us the favour of joining our "way" at a much higher figure than the former. Not all, indeed, are so frank in their worldliness. It may be disguised, or diluted—as it was in the case of Demetrius of Ephesus, who put the danger to his craft and the dishonour of his goddess side by side. Some there doubtless are who spend much of their time in religious study and meditation, and a larger number who are punctilious in the performance of religious ceremonies. But not even devotion to religion proves that its votaries are unworldly, for in Hinduism, as in other systems, religion and worldliness may be closely conjoined. The village Brahmans, as a rule, perform the duties of their caste with a strictness which is impossible in the case of their educated and town-dwelling brethren, but among them, too, the worldly spirit is painfully evident. That there are people who live a life of detachment from the things of the world I do not doubt, but they are in a small minority, and the worldliness of the great majority is obtruded on our notice at every turn.

Here, then, is a problem. How are we to explain the fact that the religion which is attracting attention in the West by its unworldliness has yet so singularly failed to foster an unworldly spirit among its Indian adherents? To some it may seem as if it were simply another instance of the too common divorce between theory and practice. Hindu teaching is one thing; the conduct of Hindus is something very different. "They say and do not," said Jesus of the Pharisees, and His own followers have too often laid themselves open to a similar charge. It must be remembered, too, that it is not so easy for Hindus to be unworldly as is sometimes supposed. If Max Müller's description—quoted above—was ever true, it is inapplicable now. Perhaps at one time, when the population was sparse, and the rainfall (owing to the greater extent of forest) more adequate, it was easy for people to live in comfort. But now India feels the struggle for existence. According to Sir William Hunter's estimate the underfed multitude numbers about 40,000,000, and of the remainder—nearly 260,000,000—the great majority

cannot be said to be in easy circumstances. Famine comes with painful frequency, and its effects remain even after it is gone. The wants of the people may be few, but the means for their satisfaction are, in too many cases, not forthcoming. What wonder that the teaching of the Shastras about the supremacy of the soul should fall on deaf ears? What wonder if theory and practice fall apart?

But further consideration leads us to see that in the worldliness of the Hindu there is more than mere inability to live up to one's creed. I shall try to show, first, that the unworldly ideal is only one of several conflicting ideals which are found in Hinduism; and second, that while the unworldly ideal is by no means absent, it yet has in itself a weakness which renders it largely inoperative.

Hinduism is by no means homogeneous. Side by side lie ways of thinking which have diverse origins and can only be reconciled by violent methods. When we try to separate these we are surprised to find in how few of them the strain which is supposed to be characteristic of Hinduism appears. We begin with the Veda, which is not only the oldest sacred collection in India, but is looked on by Hindus of almost every school as the supreme authority. Now in the Veda what do we find? That it breathes a religious spirit no one will deny. The *rishis* who wrote the hymns were deeply conscious of the divine. But when they approach their gods the blessings they ask are for the most part connected with the good things of this life. In the very first hymn of the *Rig-Veda* we find these words:

"Through Agni man obtaineth wealth, yea plenty, waxing day by day."

And those who have made a careful study of the hymns tell us that the same conception of the work of the gods is found throughout. "I never realised," says the late Professor A. B. Bruce, in his comment on "after all these things do the Gentiles seek,"<sup>1</sup> "how true the statement of Jesus is till I read the *Vedic Hymns*, the prayer book and song book of the Indian Aryans. With the exception of a few hymns to *Varuna*, in which sin is confessed and

<sup>1</sup> *Expositor's Greek Testament*, vol. i. p. 127.

pardon begged, most hymns, especially those to Indra, contain prayers only for material goods : cows, horses, green pastures, good harvests.

"To wifeless men thou givest wives,  
And joyful mak'st their joyless lives.  
Thou givest sons, courageous, strong,  
To guard their ancient sires from wrong.  
Lands, jewels, horses, herds of kine,  
All kinds of wealth are gifts of thine.  
Thy friend is never slain, his might  
Is never worsted in the fight."<sup>1</sup>

The testimony of other students is similar. The view of the Upanishads that material things all belong to the sphere of illusion is indeed found in the Veda in germ, but according to the Veda as a whole the good things of this life are by no means illusory, but rather of such surpassing value that not only prayers but costly sacrifices are employed to procure them.<sup>2</sup> Can we wonder that this view of life, to which human nature is so prone, has lingered on amid the many changes through which Indian thought has passed ?

When we pass from the Vedas to the Upanishads we find ourselves in a different world. Instead of the childlike worship of the powers of nature we have meditation on the Supreme Soul. Let us admit, for the time being, that one effect of such meditation ought to be a sublime indifference to the things of time. What I wish to note is that along with this teaching, and closely connected with it, is another line whose tendency is very different. If anything is characteristic of Hinduism it is the doctrine of *karma* and the allied doctrine of transmigration. That a man must reap what he has sown is the teaching of Christianity as well as of Hinduisim ; but while Christianity postulates a future state in which a harvest of bliss or of woe is to be reaped, Hinduism demands that the soul, after a temporary sojourn in heaven or hell, return to this earth and reap the fruit of former action in a new form. Books on morals describe in detail not only the torments which the evil-

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Dr. Bruce from Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. v. p. 137.

<sup>2</sup> See Slater, *The Higher Hinduism in relation to Christianity*, p. 57 ; Monier-Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, p. 12.

doer must endure in hell, but his rebirth as a worm, a leper, a low-caste man, or otherwise according to his deeds.

Now according to one form of this doctrine the reaping takes place in the sphere of character. In the *Bṛihadāsan-yaka Upanishad* it is said : " He who does good is born good, he who does evil is born evil." <sup>1</sup> But of this form we hear very little. The popular belief is that he who does good is born rich and he who does evil is born poor. The poor and the unfortunate—and a good many who are not poor but think they are—bewail their ill luck and account for it by their sins in a former birth, though, unfortunately for the disciplinary value of their suffering, of this birth they have no recollection. When we call in question the transmigration theory, educated and uneducated alike turn to us and say : " How can you possibly doubt it ? How is it that one man is a king and another a beggar, one sound in every limb while another is a leper ? " To our mind the connection of one's condition with the sins of a supposed prior birth is by no means obvious ; but the point to be noted is this, that this whole way of looking at life involves the attaching of no small importance to such things as health, wealth and social position. According to the teaching of the Upanishads such things are all illusion. What should it matter to the soul, which alone is real, whether the illusory body in which it dwells, or imagines itself to dwell, be that of a king or a cooly ? Yet to the average Hindu such external differences are of such supreme importance that in order to account for them the whole machinery of transmigration has to be postulated. It is with the material rather than with the moral aspects of *karma* that the ordinary Hindu is concerned. Theoretically considered the doctrine ought to act as a deterrent. Deussen says that " Instances from Indian epic and dramatic poetry are numerous in which a sufferer propounds the question, ' What crime must I have committed in a former birth ? ' and adds immediately the reflection, ' I will sin no more to bring upon myself grievous suffering in a future existence. ' " <sup>2</sup> It is questionable if such considerations play much part in real life. The fact that

<sup>1</sup> The quotation is taken from Deussen's *Philosophy of the Upanishads*, p. 410.

<sup>2</sup> *The Philosophy of the Upanishads*, p. 314.

the sufferer has no knowledge of the sin for which he suffers, together with the fact that the hope of ultimate release is so remote as to prove almost inoperative, deprives the doctrine of much of the power which it ought to possess. The ordinary Hindu uses the doctrine not as a deterrent, but rather as a means of explaining his present ill luck.

Thus in spite of the teaching of the Upanishads we find ourselves back at the worldly standpoint of the Veda. The Upanishads, it is true, do not look on *karma* as an integral part of the system they teach, but rather as a lower view which may do very well for those who are unable to rise to the higher.<sup>1</sup> But in tolerating it at all they have opened the way for the practical stultification of their own teaching. For although, in their references to *karma*, they may have thought of the effect of action on character rather than on outward circumstances, yet such is human nature that this point of view was soon lost sight of, and the worldly aspects of the doctrine became most prominent.

When we pass from philosophic to popular Hinduism we enter a region in which unworldliness is almost if not entirely lost sight of. The Puranas, and not the Vedas or the Upanishads, are the Bible of the great majority of the people, and in these the gods are pictured as beings of like passions with ourselves, with this difference, that they yield unblushingly to passions of which respectable men are ashamed. It is worth noting that even when the gods practise austerities they are represented as doing so with a worldly end—to gain power over created things.<sup>2</sup> It is true that devout Hindus, by an intellectual process hard for us Westerners to understand, often combine a lofty conception of God with belief in puerile and obscene legends.<sup>3</sup> But it is on the legends that the ordinary Hindu dwells. What wonder if he finds nothing in his religion which teaches him to repress the tendency to worldliness which by nature he shares with others? If his gods are “of the earth, earthy,” why should he trouble himself about spirituality?

<sup>1</sup> *The Philosophy of the Upanishads*, p. 410.

<sup>2</sup> Oman : *The Mystics, Ascetics, and Saints of India*, p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> A remarkable instance of this is found in the classic of the South Indian Saivites, the *Tiruvvasagam*.

Still more obviously worldly is the belief and worship of the ordinary villager. Many villages have no temple dedicated to any one of the higher deities. Their inhabitants may know something of the Puranic legends, and may pay an occasional visit to a celebrated shrine ; but their usual object of worship is one of the numerous *ammans* or mothers.<sup>1</sup> It is hard to know whether these beings are to be classed as goddesses or demonesses. They have power over cholera, small-pox and other evils, and must be kept in good humour by liberal allowances of food and drink. In his dealings with these, and even with the higher deities, the villager makes no secret of the fact that his object in presenting his offering is to secure some benefit for himself, and believing that the material things which please him will please his god too, he offers them according to his ability. Of the surrender of his will to that of a higher power, and seeking grace to live a life of purity and holiness, he hardly ever dreams.

It is thus clear that the teaching of the Upanishads has had to contend, not only against the tendency of human nature to overvalue the things of time, but against the teaching which already held the field, whether in the higher form of Vedism, or the lower form of aboriginal cults which were afterwards incorporated into Hinduism, and also against systems of later growth, such as the doctrine of *karma* and the popular mythology. Against these it has made little headway, and the Hindus as a whole remain a worldly people. One more question remains. If the higher Hinduism has failed to effect the general life to any considerable extent, is this failure due entirely to the strength of the resisting forces, or does it arise from any weakness in the system itself ? It seems to me that it does. To put it shortly, the Vedantic ideal fails because in its very nature it is an ideal for the few.

Salvation according to the Upanishads is a matter of knowledge. Only by reaching the intuitive knowledge of the *Atman* (soul) is emancipation reached. Now this knowledge is in the nature of the case out of the reach of the great majority. For one thing it demands a know-

<sup>1</sup> See Monier-Williams, *op. cit.* pp. 222-9.

ledge of the Veda, and that knowledge is permissible only to the higher castes. The Brahman is forbidden to recite the Veda in the presence of a Sudra. The first attempts of European scholars to see the sacred volumes was strenuously resisted. The idea of preaching Vedantism in other lands is a purely modern one ; it finds no basis in the Shastras, and is doubtless due to the influence of Christianity. The Upanishad itself was not intended for the multitude. "The word Upanishad," says Deussen,<sup>1</sup> "is usually explained by Indian writers by *rahasyam* (i.e. 'secret')," and after quoting references he concludes, "It follows that the universal tendency of antiquity and of the circle which produced the Upanishads was in the direction of keeping their contents secret from unfit persons," that is, as the references show, from all but a very select few. And even if the material means of knowledge—the Vedas and the Upanishads—had been open to the multitude, the process of acquiring the knowledge of the self is so laborious as to be impossible for the great majority. That this is so is generally admitted. When an intelligent Hindu is asked how the lofty teaching of the Vedanta is to be explained to a Pariah, the only hope he can hold out is that perhaps in some other birth he may be fit to receive the knowledge which is now beyond his reach.

It might have been supposed, however, that though the teaching of the Upanishads as a whole was reserved for the few, some echoes of it would be heard in a much wider circle. And it is true that traces of pantheistic thought are found everywhere. But the form in which they usually appear must be noted. We do not, as a rule, find people arguing that since the soul is the only reality the joys and sorrows of the world are of little account, but rather that since God is the only reality He must be the cause of all things, *sin included*. Just as the ordinary Hindu uses the doctrine of *karma* to throw the blame of his condition on some previous existence, so he uses the doctrine that God is all to throw the responsibility on Him. Along both these lines he persuades himself that the fault is not his own. The other aspect of pantheistic thought is

<sup>1</sup> Deussen, *op. cit.* pp. 10-12.

less attractive to him, and leaves little impress on his mind.

The fact is that any teaching which is professedly esoteric has a discouraging effect on those outside the privileged circle. They may hear something about it and adopt such features of it as suit them ; but if any moral or intellectual effort is demanded of them the excuse is easily found, " Why should we trouble about it ? It is not for us, but only for those whose circumstances are other than ours." So they think, and settle down more contentedly than ever to the mode of life which is natural to them.

The same thing appears when we turn to the moral system which is associated with the higher Hindum—asceticism. If it be true that sense-knowledge is illusory then one must pay as little attention to the senses as is possible in this world. The body must be kept in thorough restraint, and everything done to concentrate the mind on that which alone is real. We have seen that Indian asceticism, under the influence of an idea which is essentially worldly, takes fantastic forms and is attributed even to the gods. It is generally admitted, too, that of the professed asceticism of the country the greater part is unreal. But even if we take the asceticism of India at its best, as an honest attempt to rise above the world and the flesh, it is obvious that the ascetic life is possible only for a few. Even if there were no other consideration, it must be remembered that the extreme asceticism which is practised in India involves living by beggary. (The number of professional beggars is estimated at about 5,000,000.) If all become beggars no one is left from whom they can beg. The very existence of ascetics implies that the majority of men abide in their ordinary occupation. Even apart from this, a life of asceticism is obviously unsuited for the majority of men. If, then, as one of the Upanishads says, " No one who is not an ascetic brings his sacrificial works to perfection, or obtains knowledge of the highest self,"<sup>1</sup> the ordinary man must content himself without such perfection. What is the result ? Since the goal is unattainable the ordinary man ceases to strive after it. He may admire the ascetic, but he is not

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Slater, *Higher Hinduism*, p. 253.



called upon to imitate him. The ascetic has his high calling, and the ordinary man fears his curse and craves his blessing. But to be like him is impossible, so why need he try? It does not occur to him that though he remains in the world he may exercise such self-control as to live above it. Unless he can be an ascetic, which he regards as impossible, he need not try to be anything but what he is, a man immersed in the world and its affairs, and content if he can live therein in accordance with the standard set up by those who went before him and those who are around him.

Here, then, lies one secret of the failure of the Vedantic ideal. If unworldliness is to be practised it must be an unworldliness which is possible for all. Is there such a thing? The Gospel of Jesus Christ teaches that there is. It comes as good tidings for all peoples. It was among the "depressed classes" of the day and among the middle classes that Jesus won His first disciples. It was to a woman—a woman, too, with a dull mind and a bad character—that Jesus uttered His lofty teaching as to the spirituality of God. He prayed, not that His disciples might be taken out of the world, but that they might be kept from the evil.<sup>1</sup> The Oriental view that matter is evil, and that only a few can escape its snare and attain to divine wisdom, soon appeared, but the apostles set themselves with all their might to fight against the error. "Warning *every* man," says St. Paul, "and teaching *every* man in all wisdom; that we may present *every* man perfect in Christ Jesus."<sup>2</sup> This is the Christianity which has gone throughout the world, conquering and to conquer. It takes the sinner, the slave, the pariah, just as he is, and shows him what he may become. It is not content with putting before him a goodness which he may admire but need not attempt to imitate. It leads him into a fellowship with God through Christ which gives him a motive to holiness of life. It teaches self-restraint, and with a view to self-restraint it encourages the formation of habits of prayer and meditation. It has its sabbaths and its retreats. But it uses such retirement from the world not as an end in itself but as a means of living "soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present

<sup>1</sup> St. John xvii. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Col. i. 28.

world."<sup>1</sup> It calls on all to be holy, but teaches that holiness is not to be attained by abandoning the world, but by so bringing the loftiest motives to bear on everything that there is no longer anything common or unclean.

Note, too, that it is not by lowering the standard that Christianity tries to win all. Strictly speaking its standard of holiness is higher than that of Hinduism, for the holiness of love and unselfish effort is higher than that of mere abstraction from the things of sense. Hinduism fails, not because its ideal is too high, but, first, because its ideal is an unreal one. Human nature does not find in it its true life, and hence the majority of men make no attempt at its realisation. The Christian ideal is that for which man was intended, and hence any man whose eyes are opened to its glory is encouraged to make it his own. Hinduism fails, in the second place, because it leaves out of account the strength of the living God. It teaches what man ought to do. Christianity teaches what God has done, and it is only by resting on this that man can attain anything.

India will become truly unworldly when it hears the voice of Christ. Then alone will all that is noble in the ideal of its sages be realised, for then alone will it be so presented as to be the true ideal of the race ; and not a select few alone, but a great multitude of all tribes and castes and tongues will realise that " the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal."

J. H. MACLEAN.

<sup>1</sup> Titus ii. 12.

## THE JUNIOR CLERGY MISSIONARY ASSOCIATIONS.

It is already late to reply to Mr. Rogers' article<sup>1</sup> on the J.C.M.A., but a further discussion is clearly needed where statements are so sweeping and suggestions so revolutionary.

It would be quite easy to prove that Mr. Rogers overstates his case, but there would be no purpose served by doing so: he has pointed out with unsparing severity, if not with some exaggeration, some very serious evils, and we should be very blind indeed to resent criticism which is given with good-will. We should rather examine ourselves and our own shortcomings.

For it is clear, as the Bishop of Dorking told us more than a year ago, that something is wrong. To take Mr. Rogers' criticisms as far as they are unquestionably true, a large number of J.C.M.A. members have never faced the question of service abroad for themselves: a great proportion of our members are merely nominal: many of our branches are in a supine condition: many J.C.M.A. meetings are dead and cold: there is a lamentable unwillingness to go abroad, even when the call is pressed home to the uttermost and the Archbishop makes the appeal.

If the J.C.M.A. were merely an ordinary society such things might be considered rational and pardonable; but, in a missionary society of younger clergy, to lose the salt of sacrifice is to lose everything. Here is the real seriousness of the situation. Priests, especially young priests, engaging in missionary work, cannot possibly be nominal members.

For many years past the evils of our present state have been seen, and the most strenuous efforts have been made

<sup>1</sup> October 1906.

to check them. Yet, after all these efforts, an average attendance at meetings of only one-fifth of the membership is nothing less than disgraceful—I can call it by no milder word. I had hoped against hope that improvement would come, but now I should be prepared for more drastic remedies. I would propose at once to begin with some such rule as follows :—“ Any member of the J.C.M.A. who has attended no meeting of his own Association during the course of the year shall, unless adequate reason is given, be struck off the roll of membership.”

I would further recommend the most careful scrutiny of supine associations. Such work should be carried out with tact and sympathy, but if there is no prospect of new life being instilled by a revision of method or change of officers, the branch should be closed. The principle should be laid down that “ no association shall continue as a branch of the J.C.M.A. which does not show sacrifice and energy in the missionary cause.” To prevent once and for all the danger of inflated numbers, and to mark out clearly with disapproval carelessness and neglect, I would recommend the following rule :—“ That no association shall be reckoned in the Annual Official List which does not send in a return and report to the General Secretary at the time appointed.” I would also urge a definite standing order as to a minor but important point :—“ The time for private business shall not exceed ten minutes at any meeting of branch associations, without the consent of a two-thirds majority of those present.”

It may be naturally objected, “ Why interfere so much with individual associations, and make hard-and-fast rules ? ” I would reply that we have already a drastic rule in our Constitution, viz., that no clergyman of over twenty years’ standing shall bear office. In recommending further minor rules, I am only carrying out the principle of our Association, viz., to conserve efficiency and enthusiasm. I would add that the policy of non-intervention has been tried, and has been found unavailing. If we are to be living, we must be thorough and real. “ Salt is good, but if the salt have lost its savour wherewith shall it be salted ? It is fit neither for the land nor for the dunghill : men cast it out. He that hath ears to hear let him hear.”

In the good mercy of God we have not yet become savourless : the sacrifice is still salted with salt ; but there is unquestionably a danger of unreality, and as our work is so high, so we need to take every precaution in order that unreality may be stamped out. The rules I have suggested may only help a very little ; but if adopted they would tend to greater reality, and would at the same time in no way stifle life or development.

I would bring in by way of parenthesis a fact which, I believe, is at the root of one half of our present troubles. The great deterrent to the consideration even of work abroad at the present time is the overwhelming problem of our unshepherded congregations at home. This fact has often been stated ; yet it is not as clearly recognised that this home problem is not so much due to lack of men as to bad distribution, and that this bad distribution of our clergy at home has a direct effect upon the Mission-field. While vast Mission areas are being lost to the Church and large town parishes are undermanned, we allow deserted country parishes at home to be overstocked by clergy. One priest in Queensland or Western Canada has a charge as big as Wales ; one priest in India is a missionary to a million people scattered over an area larger than the British Isles ; one priest in a rising English town has the charge of 12,000 to 15,000 souls, while in the country parishes the proportion is often so small as to be nothing less than shameful. On a single page, taken at random from a Church Directory, I have counted six parish priests who have between them the cure of 415 souls ! Page after page of the Directory tells the same tale. I myself once took Sunday duty at a tiny parish : after Morning Service was over I walked a short distance and found two other parish churches side by side in the same churchyard, in which two priests (one a Canon of the diocese) were taking two separate services and preaching two separate sermons at the same time to some two or three dozen people ! Every effort had been made, so the good Canon told me, to unite the parishes ; but vested interests and legal difficulties had proved too strong. Think of the consequences ! There were three priests doing the work of one, while in countless other places one priest was doing the work of three. One is apt

to smile at such parochialism and call it English conservatism, until its consequences are recognised. I do not think it is too much to say that if a redistribution of work and income were made to-day at home, every home-need of our vast town parishes could be supplied, and the question of work abroad could be faced without the paralysing uncertainty of a double claim—the home claim seeming almost greater than the foreign. I have the keenest sympathy with those who feel the pressure at home—I know it by experience; but I know now by experience that the need abroad is far greater, and I can see now, much more clearly than I did, that the dearth in the large home parishes is unnecessary. There the remedy and the supply are both close at hand; here there is neither supply nor remedy. I have had talks with those in high authority at home concerning the evil of our multitude of tiny country parishes, but all say the same thing. The legal difficulties and vested interests are well-nigh insoluble. But it is no use sitting still under the evil. The remedy really lies in our own hands. It is we younger clergy who are to blame for so often undertaking such charges. We cannot expect that God will thrust forth more labourers into the harvest while so many of our present labourers are only doing half-work. I know there are many who are doing diocesan work also, and thus filling up their whole time—it is not of these that I am speaking; but there are many others, both in town and country, whose sphere of work, compared with the greatness of our present needs, is not half big enough, and it is these whom I would urge, if health does not prevent it, to “move on.” I would add that health itself may become a subtle excuse, and that we clergy are often much more tender about our own health than business men. A retirement to the country is made too easy for us, and we are apt to succumb too soon to its attraction.

I trust that I may be pardoned for speaking thus plainly. I felt that this had to be said by some one. I recognise the danger of being misunderstood, and write with considerable diffidence. But I am pleading for *reality* and I cannot adequately describe how distressed and pained I was, when in England on sick leave, at the easy-going and indolent clerical life I met with in many quarters. If any

word of mine can rouse even a single man who is settling down into a life of comfortable clerical ease to feel that this must not, and cannot and shall not be, I shall be thankful, even at the risk of some misunderstanding, to have expressed myself in quite unguarded terms.

I come back to the second part of Mr. Rogers' suggestions, with which, I am afraid, I profoundly disagree. To begin with, I should protest very strongly indeed against the levy of a high subscription from the younger clergy. It would be an unequal and unfair tax. It would be also a deterrent to some of the very best, who—all honour to them—working in slum parishes, can say with the Apostle, "Silver and gold have I none, but what I have I give." I would lay the main stress of home duty and sacrifice in an Association of Priests on "the Ministry of the Word and the Prayers." I would increase tenfold within the J.C.M.A. the application of its members to spiritual study of missionary problems and achievements. The whole ministerial life would be enriched by such study, and every sermon would become more and more living. Instead of less missionary sermons, as Mr. Rogers advises, we need more; but they should be more full of instruction and knowledge. When a learned and travelled archdeacon at home asked me at a public meeting how my work among the Buddhists (*sic*) in Delhi was progressing, there is room for questioning whether the unlearned and untravelled laity have yet had enough of instructive and inspiring missionary sermons!

But even deeper still than the "Ministry of the Word" comes the paramount duty of leading the people in regular missionary intercession. This must be set before every priest as an obligation of membership. I know that conference after conference has returned to this point, and that some slight progress has been made. But the battle is not yet by any means won, and there will be an unreality about J.C.M.A. membership until it becomes recognised as a primary condition that every priest member shall hold in his own church, along with his own people, regular and definite intercession. I confess that I was disappointed, when last in England, after reading of the increased circulation of the "Quarterly Intercession Paper," to find how

few churches had a weekly missionary intercession. More good, probably, can be done on this side through the personal work of keen members who will induce others to take their part, and who will answer their practical difficulties than by a further Association Rule.

Last of all, Mr. Rogers proposes to cut the Gordian knot of our present difficulties with one sweeping blow, and limit the J.C.M.A. to candidates for service abroad. I cannot really believe that this proposal is serious. It would seem to me not only injudicious, but, if I might say so, somewhat priggish. Let us get rid of cant and cease putting a halo round the mere fact of going abroad. There are a very large number of men at home who have faced the question and clearly cannot go abroad. Some of these are the keenest missionaries in the world to-day: it is only circumstances, which we believe are of God's ordering, that prevent them being in the Mission-field. They are workers in their own appointed place, as truly as those abroad are workers, for the extension of Christ's Kingdom. To have no place for these in the J.C.M.A. would be ruinous. It would be a fatal check to that interflow of loving prayer and communion among missionary-hearted and missionary-working priests which is the strength of all missionary vocation and ministry and the ultimate basis of our Association.

At the same time I fully recognise that those who are beginning to feel the burden of the call to foreign work are too isolated, and that continually a high impulse, a new hope of vocation fades away and dies down for want of sympathy and encouragement. Whether there could be a means within the J.C.M.A. of uniting those who are feeling the call; whether there could be a means of gathering them together quietly, almost privately, for conference and communion; whether one of the most sympathetic readers could act as correspondent and invite letters and questions, and perhaps visit and be visited by any young priest whose mind is not clear and whose way of vocation is clouded—whether some such quiet, simple Union within the J.C.M.A. could be accomplished under wise leadership, I do not know. I wish it could be: it would be well worth trying. I am sure more true missionary vocations are lost through



lack of sympathy and encouragement, through isolation and imaginary difficulties, than by any question as to whether a patriarch, archbishop or bishop must give authoritative direction. I do not wish to speak slightly of the question of authority—I know it is a difficulty to some<sup>1</sup>; but with most it is not the real difficulty. I have had very many talks and much correspondence with young priests about the Mission-field, and in almost every case the point of difficulty has been some misunderstanding which needed to be removed—the language difficulty, the health difficulty, the marriage difficulty, the parents' difficulty, etc., etc.—and it has been only by talking over and praying together over these difficulties that the clouds have disappeared and the clear bright sunshine of vocation has pierced through the mists. I often felt when in England that I would dearly like to spend some months simply in meeting and talking over elementary difficulties, considering practical ways and means, and discussing the true conditions of the Mission-field with the younger clergy.

If it be objected that such a Union within the J.C.M.A. would lead to a double standard and split the society, I can only point to the Student Volunteers whom I used to know at Cambridge. There was no hard line of demarcation between them and other Christian Union students. Their own Union was both quiet and unobtrusive. I would urge most strongly a study of the S.V.M.U., and the methods of its travelling secretaries. Our difficulties are greater than theirs, as our men are older and more isolated. But I am sure that we should unite with them in whatever way we can and learn their spirit, and also endeavour to work out in our own circles some of their means of banding intending missionaries together.

It is indeed time that we took courage and went forward. It is a time of glorious inspiration and hope, when every man should be buckling on his armour. It is a time when on every side harvest-fields are whitening. It is a

<sup>1</sup> May I add in a footnote that it is quite a mistake to think that Missionary vocation in the Roman Church comes only through authority? Among clergy who are not monks missionary service is entirely spontaneous; and in the monastic orders themselves there are large opportunities for volunteering for service abroad.

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time when new kingdoms are being won for Christ. In the East the lassitude of centuries is being shaken off in a generation. The tide of nationality has reached every capital of Asia. The greatest events of the world's history may be yet before us, when India, China, Persia, and Afghanistan awake to a new life. Africa is penetrated at last from shore to shore. In Western Canada a nation is being born in a day. Is this the time to spend a life that is still young and vigorous with a handful of people and a comfortable income? "Is it a time to receive money, and to receive garments and olive yards and vineyards, and sheep and oxen?" By all the sacred pledges of our ordination, if we have youth and health, let us be up and doing. The priesthood calls for sacrifice; the Christian peoples, all unshepherded, call for sacrifice; the world, with its intolerable burden of misery and oppression, calls for sacrifice. To none can the call come with more commanding, more attractive power than to the Younger Clergy.

C. F. ANDREWS.

## THE PIONEER WORK OF MEDICAL MISSIONS.

MOST of the pioneer work of the Church has been done already. In all ages there have been ardent natures to whom the expectation of hardship or danger has acted, not as a deterrent, but as a strong stimulus and attraction ; and from their labours it now results that in almost all the countries of the world a commencement at least has been made of the work of evangelisation.

From all sides there come the tidings, not of closed doors, but of great opportunities, of regions formerly inaccessible but now freely opened ; of peoples once utterly hostile, yet now waiting, even anxiously, for the Gospel. Speaking broadly, the need of the Church to-day is not so much for adventurous missionary pioneers who, at the risk of their lives, will go into unexplored countries, as for those to whom steady obedience brings sufficient reward, and who will be content to spend their days in patient, unromantic evangelistic effort amongst ignorant village folk, or in coping with the urgent pastoral needs of communities whose readiness to accept Christianity has been in advance of the capacity of their leaders to instruct them. There remain, however, even now, some few lands where, owing to the hostile attitude of the ruling powers, the open preaching of the Gospel seems to be almost impossible, whilst in two or three, notably Thibet, Afghanistan and parts of Arabia, not only are active attempts at Christianising sternly repressed, but every effort is made to render the very existence of Christianity an impossibility. We may, for the sake of argument, speak of such countries as "closed lands."

What is the duty of the Christian Church in the face of

barriers such as these? An able writer on missionary problems has recently said: "We have no right to say of any single country that it is barred against the Gospel. If we say this still of Afghanistan and Thibet, or of any other land, it may be truly answered that the Church has no right to call any door closed which she has had neither faith nor courage to attempt to open and pass through."<sup>1</sup> It may well be questioned whether such a verdict as the above is based upon a true appreciation of the conditions obtaining in such countries as those instanced, and it may be worth while, before passing on to a brief consideration of efforts which are being made to open closed doors, to spend a few moments over the question as to whether they really are closed in fact, or only in imagination. Is the Church right in waiting, active, prayerful, and expectant, outside the borders of such closed regions, or does true obedience dictate that she should press through, be the cost what it may, and raise the standard of the Cross, Government restrictions notwithstanding?

We might regard the City of Mecca, sacred to all Moslems, as presenting an example of a door closed to the Gospel. The very few professing Christians who have succeeded in reaching this city seem all, whether Europeans or Orientals, to have regarded a careful concealment of their faith as an essential condition of success in their enterprise. Turning now to Afghanistan, we find that there is an absolute veto upon the entrance into the country of all Europeans, except such as go at the express invitation of the Amir himself; and the Indian Government has, under present conditions, no option but to enforce this prohibition. Such Europeans as have spent a longer or shorter time in Kabul have had their actions and movements very closely scrutinised, and have known well that the slightest suspicion of their having made any attempt to spread the truths of Christianity would have led to their immediate expulsion from the country.

There have been, during recent years, at least three deliberate attempts on the part of missionaries to penetrate into Afghanistan; in each case the traveller was discovered

<sup>1</sup> Speer's *Missionary Principles and Practice*, p. 529.

within a few hours after crossing the frontier, and the enterprise ended in a compulsory retirement under military escort. These attempts have had the effect of closing the door more firmly than before as regards trans-frontier evangelisation, and of creating in the minds of some of the Government officials concerned a suspicion regarding missionary work on the frontier which has not easily been dispelled.

During the British occupation of Kabul at the time of the last Afghan war, a short visit was paid there by the native pastor of the church at Peshawar, the Rev. Imám Shah, for the purpose of ministering to the spiritual needs of a small colony of Armenian Christians who had long been established in the city, and whose presence had been tolerated in consideration of the fact that they were Christians by birth, not converts from Islam, and that they had no connection with the Europeans. Towards the close of the year 1896, however, the late Amir, desirous probably of gaining favour with the Sultan of Turkey, and of strengthening his position as the head of Islam in the Middle East, passed an order expelling the whole of this Armenian colony from the country, and, accordingly, they found their way to Peshawar, where they received a warm welcome from the missionaries, and have since been devoted and regular members of the congregation of the Mission Church.

The severity of the present Amir's attitude with respect to religious freedom may be judged from the recent case of a learned Kabul Moulvie, who became an adherent of the heterodox Mohammedan leader, Mirza Ghulám Ahmad, of Qadian in the Central Punjab. The Moulvie was tried for heresy and convicted, and upon his persisting in a refusal to recant was publicly stoned to death in accordance with Mohammedan law. He was willing to give his life for a new teaching which seemed better than that which he had formerly believed, and there was no one who could point him to the Saviour of mankind.

As regards the broad strip of independent hill territory intervening between British India and Afghanistan, and inhabited by the Afridis, Waziris, Mohmands, Mahsuds, and other tribes of Pathans, the position at present is that

the British Government is obliged, for the sake of its prestige along the frontier, and for the sake of peace, not only to visit with extreme severity any outrage against its own officers or other Europeans, but to avoid exposing the turbulent tribesmen to the temptation to disgrace themselves. It is entirely beside the mark for the missionary pioneer to protest that he is prepared to go forward, facing cheerfully the risk to life, and that, if murdered, no reprisals will be called for. He is told, in reply, that to dissociate himself from the ruling powers is an impossibility, and that any outrage against a white man, if allowed to remain unpunished, would be followed by such an outbreak of further disorder as would inevitably lead ere long to a punitive expedition. In actual practice the missionary upon the Indian North-West frontier quickly finds that not only would any attempt to cross the border without permission be inevitably frustrated, but that his freedom to work unhindered, even in districts adjacent thereto, is conditional upon his enjoying the confidence of the responsible government officials with regard to this frontier restriction.

On the other hand, it may be gratefully acknowledged that, from the time of Sir Herbert Edwardes down to the present, a large amount of sympathetic interest has been shown, and practical assistance given, by agents of the British Government, both civil and military, to missionaries whose tact and loyal obedience they could trust; and there seems no reason to expect that the prohibition to work in trans-frontier districts will be continued beyond the time at which it may safely be withdrawn.

As regards the possibility of evangelisation by ex-Mohammedan converts, there is complete unanimity of opinion amongst Christians who are natives of the regions under consideration that the only witness possible for them to bear would be that of martyrdom; that to any Oriental Christian who was discovered beyond the frontier the alternatives would speedily be presented of denial of Christ or death. It may be that some of the small group of Pathan or Afghan converts will be constrained by God Himself to go forward and give their lives in witness for their faith; but it does not seem possible for the European workers to use any pressure in this direction, the less so

in that they themselves would be unable to set the example. At present, for a Pathan convert to return alive from a visit to a trans-frontier district would be regarded by most of his compatriot Christians as being in itself evidence of his having concealed, if not denied, his faith.

If, then, it may with justice be conceded that, so far as personal evangelisation is concerned, there are still lands that are "closed," what remains for the Church to do? Are there practical ways in which it may be preparing at the entrance for a time of freer access—or, better still, are there indirect ways in which such countries may be permeated with the Gospel; or is a policy of prayerful, expectant inactivity the only one possible?

One answer at least to questions such as these may be found in a study of the Medical Missions of the Church Missionary Society along the North-West frontier of India. The importance of these institutions, from the standpoint of missionary policy, lies in the fact of their being situated at strategic points upon several of the great trade routes between Afghanistan and British India. The broad barrier of hills which separates the two countries, and in the fastnesses of which dwell, secure from interference, the unruly tribes of Pathans, to which reference has been made, is pierced at several points by mountain passes which have gained historical fame from the numerous military operations of which they have been the scene.

There is a constant stream in both directions of travellers along these mountain passes, and it is mainly in order to bring Christian influences to bear upon these, and through them upon the countries from which they come and to which they return, that the Frontier Medical Missions have been established. The trans-frontier caravans consist largely of traders, who, bringing their families and leaving them at or near the Indian border towns, scatter themselves during each winter season throughout the cities of Northern India. Besides these, there are multitudes of cold-weather visitors, families of the agricultural or labouring class, who, as each autumn comes round, escape from the rigours and scarcity of the Afghan winter, and seek employment, together with cheaper food supplies, upon the British side of the border, returning to their native hills

upon the approach of summer, with its severe heat. A third and increasing class of travellers from the closed land consists of patients and their families, who undertake journeys, often of two or three weeks in duration, in the hope of obtaining that skilled medical treatment which they long for in vain in their own cities and villages.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the need of medical, and still more of surgical, aid in such a country as Afghanistan. In British India the vast amount of work done by the Government in the countless hospitals and dispensaries under the control of the Indian Medical Department, is supplemented by the private enterprise of an army of native practitioners trained in Indian medical schools, and yet the supply is confessedly utterly inadequate to the needs of the vast rural population. When we come, however, beyond the frontier, we find no medical relief whatever organised, either by public or private bodies, and, with the exception of a few hakims in the largest cities, the whole of the private practice, such as exists, is in the hands of untrained "barber-surgeons," whose methods are in the highest degree crude, not to say barbarous. The unrestrained use of the actual cautery in cases of inflamed bones and joints, the plunging of septic needles into painful parts, quite irrespective of anatomy, the haphazard attempts at ophthalmic surgery by itinerant cataract "specialists," are responsible for an enormous amount of positive suffering, while the absence of any skilled medical or surgical aid means that, to the sick and injured amongst a population of several millions, the prospect has to be faced of a tedious and probably painful journey by road, with the alternative of remaining without hope of relief. A recent and by no means exceptional case to illustrate this is that of a stalwart young Afghan, whose thigh had been shattered by a bullet, away in a village beyond Kabul, and who was brought by his relatives to the Peshawar Mission Hospital, a distance of more than two hundred miles, lying upon a bedstead which was balanced across the back of a buffalo, no attempt whatever having been made to retain the fragments of bone in position by the application of splints to the limb. In the wards of the Peshawar Mission Hospital, especially during the winter months, by far the larger proportion of cases are



those which have come for treatment from far beyond the border, and the same could probably be said of other Frontier Medical Missions. Among the patients will be cases of severe bullet wounds from Tirah, the result of the frequent family or tribal blood-feuds amongst the Pathans, of tumour, stone, tubercular disease of bones or joints, or other conditions urgently calling for surgical operation, with a large sprinkling of cases of disease of the eyes, including many of cataract. Of late almost daily there have come groups of trans-frontier women, bringing children for vaccination, since now even they are finding that this is the one safeguard against small-pox, which is such a scourge amongst them.

A Medical Mission, then, has the power of attracting large numbers of travellers from these inaccessible trans-frontier regions, and it is difficult to see how any other agency could possibly do this to the same extent without at the same time offering material inducements, such as would be to the prejudice of the spiritual side of the work. Nor is it merely a means of attraction: the Mission hospital affords unique opportunities for direct evangelisation, while at the same time the tendency of all the beneficent work which is carried on is to prepare the soil for the seed to be sown, by removing prejudices and misconceptions, by substituting gratitude for suspicion, and by establishing such a personal relation between the evangelist and those whom he seeks to influence, that his message may at least be listened to with the attention necessary to ensure its being understood.

The thought may, perhaps, occur to some that even free medical aid such as this partakes of the nature of a bribe, and that it is taking an unfair advantage to seek to undermine a man's religion while he is sick or suffering. To this it may be replied, first, that the ministry of healing is not, when used in connection with Christianity, of the nature of an extraneous attraction or bribe (as it might be truly considered if employed by a society to propagate Hinduism or Islam); it is rather of the essence of Christianity itself, a demonstration of the teaching of Christ in such clear fashion that even those who could not hear or understand preaching may see and feel what the new thing

is which is offered to them. Christian preaching, divorced from all care for the suffering, would be unnatural, unreal ; while a Mission hospital where preaching was impossible might still be worthy the name of a Medical Mission. You may be bribed to purchase a packet of tea by the offer of an ornamental canister in which to keep it ; but a rose, by its own scent, does not bribe, although it may impel you to possess it. Secondly, the present writer has always felt that a Mission hospital is not the place for undermining religion, if, in order to do this, it be necessary to make attacks upon it. Our work is to present the Living Christ, the Saviour of the World, before our patients, rather than to proclaim Mohammed an impostor and the Koran a fraud. The case returns vividly to one's memory of a saintly old Mussalman, far holier than his creed, who presented himself, quite blind, at a small hill dispensary, after a walk of thirty miles, for operation for cataract, with words such as these : " Life has nothing more to offer me ; my one longing is that just enough sight may be restored to enable me to read that book (the Koran) which is life to me." The old man received his sight ; he left the hospital full of rejoicing gratitude ; he had heard something of the message, " Come unto Me," and of the Saviour who gave it, but—rightly or wrongly, let others decide—the foundations of his belief were not deliberately undermined.

Let it be added that in a Mission hospital it is the rarest event for any resentment to be shown, or even objection offered to the teaching of Christian truth to the patients, that the limit to the evangelistic work in the hospital is set, not by the readiness or unreadiness of the patients to listen, but by the capacity of the staff to cope with their opportunities, and it will be admitted that we have here a means of real value of bringing the Gospel message into contact with the travellers from these closed lands, and thus, by their means, of spreading the knowledge of Christian truth into paths whither the missionary cannot penetrate.

Nor is this all ; the impression received and passed on by patients from a Mission hospital may often be imperfect and fragmentary ; in fact, in the case of such as have only been a short time under treatment, or have not been atten-

tive listeners, it will not infrequently be rather of the nature of a favourable influence, or a correction of old antipathies or misunderstandings, than any very definite reception by intellect or heart of new truth. Nothing is more easy, however, than to make a frontier Mission hospital a centre for the wide dissemination of God's Word. Each one of the many thousands of out-patients receives a prescription paper, upon the reverse of which a series of carefully chosen texts of Scripture may be printed in the appropriate language; whilst, as regards the in-patients who leave the hospital wards, grateful and often longing to show their gratitude for kindness received, the period of friendly intercourse may most fitly be brought to a close by an interview leading up to the gift of a copy of the Gospels or one of them, with the earnest request—in cases where the patient himself is unable to read—that he will show his gratitude by carefully preserving the book during the journey homewards, and that, on arrival, he will present it to the Mullah of his village. Whilst strongly deprecating the indiscriminate *free* distribution of portions of Scripture as a rule, the writer believes that it is well worth while giving them without charge at such times as these, when the sense of obligation, or even actual affection, may be relied upon to give a special value to the gift. It is no longer a haphazard firing away of ammunition, but becomes part of a carefully directed preliminary fusillade upon a hostile position.

Thus much as to present evangelistic effort for the people of closed lands. Can anything be done by means of Medical Missions to expedite and facilitate actual missionary advance into regions as yet inaccessible? The value of these institutions in conciliating and civilising the turbulent tribesmen of the border hills has repeatedly been acknowledged by responsible frontier officials. The patient efforts of such a worker as Dr. Pennell, of the Bannu Medical Mission, who for fifteen years has spent much of his time itinerating amongst the villages along an extensive line of frontier, in intimate personal intercourse with the Waziris and Mahsuds, cannot but tend in the same direction. The desire that it may become possible for medical missionaries to visit in trans-frontier villages is expressed frequently and with much warmth by patients who have succeeded in

reaching the distant hospitals, and who long that friends not so fortunate may receive similar help. As regards the highland districts along the frontier, it may be said that the Medical Missions are helping largely to transform suspicious foes into loyal friends, and to make it possible for direct evangelistic work to be permitted amongst them.

What then as regards the more remote closed land of Afghanistan and the regions beyond this? If we cannot expect to be able directly to influence the Government authorities, by whose orders present missionary advance is checked, we may at least be preparing to take advantage of the opening when in God's good providence it comes. It seems almost inconceivable that the present attitude of the Amir regarding foreign access to his country can be very long maintained; sooner or later the enormous gain which would result from a closer intercourse will be recognised, and the restrictions will be removed. The workers at the frontier Medical Missions may well continue their efforts to attract and form links of personal attachment with the traveller patients who come to them, confident that when the time shall arrive for them to go forward without let or hindrance there will be in the towns and villages of the closed land some who, as inmates of the Mission hospitals, have already come into contact with practical Christianity, and whose gratitude will show itself in a warm welcome to those who claim connection with them. When the gateway into the country is unbarred it will be found that the doors into villages, homes, and hearts have already been partially opened.

In what has been written above, special reference has been made to work on the Afghan Frontier of India, but efforts on similar lines and with equally encouraging results are being directed towards the opening up of Western Thibet, mainly by the itinerations of the Drs. Neve, in connection with the Kashmir Medical Mission at Srinagar, and by the members of the Moravian Mission at Leh.

There are a few practical points concerning this aspect of Medical Mission work which deserve consideration. As regards location, the Mission hospital should be at a central city to which travellers naturally converge, and at a

readily accessible point in such a city, Itinerating medical mission work in frontier villages is of great importance, but its usefulness is increased and rendered more permanent when it is brought into close organic connection with a regular base, hospital, to which patients may be sent for operation or further treatment and from which helpers and supplies may be obtained.

The workers should be continually on their guard against letting the medical or surgical part of the work absorb too much of their interest and energies, to the exclusion of actual evangelistic effort. It is not enough to provide for regular services in wards and out-patient rooms ; the most fruitful work will usually be that which implies close personal contact with individuals, quiet interviews at the bedside, or better still, when possible, in a special room set apart for the purpose. A Medical Mission will usually provide evangelistic opportunities far beyond the power of the doctor himself to cope with, though it is most important that he should take a constant and active share in it. The regular help of an evangelistic colleague, assisted when possible by native workers in the Mission, will be of the utmost value.

True though it is that in a Medical Mission, no less than in a hospital at home, the highest ideals as to professional efficiency should be aimed at, it is, nevertheless, often necessary, if we would really attract semi-civilised or undisciplined natures, to make some concessions as regards hospital *régime*. The worker, trained in Western schools to map out his day's programme with careful regularity, must be prepared to sacrifice his plans at every turn, in order to embrace opportunities for personal dealing, it may be in a quiet interview with some leading man from a trans-frontier village, whom he may never again have the chance of influencing. If medical efficiency were the only consideration, the mission hospital would doubtless be closed to visitors except on special days at fixed hours, yet it would hardly be too much to assert that its value as a pioneer agency is doubled by opening the wards freely to visitors and by permitting patients when possible to move about in the hospital and have full opportunity for free intercourse with each other. Nothing banishes suspicion

so effectually as perfect freedom of access, and if the presence of numerous relations and visitors is a frequent and sore trial to the hospital staff, it has the result of largely increasing the number of people brought under the influence of the evangelistic workers. It is no uncommon sight to find a dozen sympathetic friends of some patient all attentively listening to the teaching which is being given at the bedside of the one whom they came to visit.

A more difficult, but still more necessary concession to be made to long-distance trans-frontier patients, is in regard to arrangements for those who come with their families. Often it happens that some small child is brought for treatment by its parents, who, coming from a distant village, have not been able to leave the rest of their family at home, so present themselves at the hospital gateway with, perhaps, four or five children, all of them expecting admission. Often it is a husband, who brings his sick wife, and, in the absence of anyone with whom to leave his children, brings them also. One very satisfactory way of dealing with such cases is to set aside a part of the hospital as a "caravan-serai," with a number of separate rooms, each of which is adapted for the accommodation of a whole family. In the mission hospital at Peshawar there is for this special purpose a large courtyard surrounded by some twenty small rooms; these are highly appreciated, and almost always fully occupied. The relations are for the most part able to support themselves, and are always ready to help in the care of the patients. Such an arrangement is difficult to reconcile with the highest professional ideals, but it exactly fits in with the Oriental notion of what a hospital should be, and it largely widens the range of influence, as well as increases the opportunities for evangelisation.

It is as the patients are treated with individual, sympathetic interest, and not merely as "hospital cases," that the medical side of the work really acts as the handmaid to the spiritual.

Bearing in mind the great and increasing need for workers in the more developed fields of missionary activity, it is important that for the special difficulties connected with pioneer work, those methods should be

adopted which promise the best results with the least waste of power. It may be claimed that one of the means which holds out most hope of success is that by which, following the example of our blessed Lord Himself, we seek to open closed doors by the Ministry of Healing.

The writer would conclude by commending two facts to the consideration of any whom they may concern :

First, there is a present need of at least two or three more medical missionaries on the Afghan frontier, in order to bring the staffs of the existing medical missions up to their normal complement. The work is severe, yet full of intense interest, and offers an ideal sphere for an active, energetic young surgeon who feels the call to consecrate his powers wholly to the service of Christ and the relief of suffering.

Secondly, there are no Pushtu-speaking ordained missionaries on this frontier ; none able to teach and examine trans-frontier converts in their own language ; none even preparing to press forward to evangelise this closed land when the way shall be opened. Here, again, working amongst a people active, virile, and independent, and in close conjunction with one or other of the medical missions, a young clergyman, strong in body, intellect, and spirit, and fitted for an active, outdoor life, would find a sphere of absorbing interest and great usefulness.

May God send whom He shall choose to take part in this most joyous work.

ARTHUR LANKESTER.

## A NEW MISSION TO THE AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINALS.

ABOUT two-thirds of the way down the eastern shore of the Gulf of Carpentaria there is a small creek, not marked as yet on any published map of those regions, and very difficult to find from the sea. North and south the coast extends 130 miles one way, and 360 miles the other, in one long low monotonous line with no landmarks and no features, forming just a margin to that huge waste shallow puddle of sea water which is known as the Gulf of Carpentaria. Words can hardly describe the sense of remoteness from everywhere which this region suggests. There is no shipping in the gulf. There are no settlements on its shores. With the exception of the three Presbyterian mission stations there are no white men within hail of it. It is a black man's region. When you land a few naked, shock-headed aborigines emerge from the bush and look at you, and you feel and know that you have left civilisation behind.

But not Christianity. For the Trubanaman Creek is the spot chosen for the formation of a new Church Mission to the aborigines, and ten miles inland the station is already in existence, standing near the southern boundary of a 500 square mile reserve which the Government of Queensland have recently given for the use of the blacks under its influence. I have just returned from a visit to that mission, and the interest of it is so fresh in my mind that I believe that my English readers will be glad to hear what is being done.

Any mission to the Australian aborigines has an interest for those who know the history of Australia. A hundred years ago the vast continent belonged to them,



Then we came and without their leave began to take possession. The process of our occupation went on with no more injustice or cruelty than has been usual in such cases. Many of the pioneers—in Queensland—were humane, just, God-fearing men, and in a patriarchal sort of way they treated the blacks kindly. But no individual acts of kindness could mitigate the stern process of extermination which began with our arrival. We brought our vices with us. We may not have intended it, but among the first gifts which our civilisation brought to the nation we found here was the craving for drink and opium, and venereal disease. And pioneers and bushmen were not always humane. Ugly things have been done in the dark quarters of the continent, and reprisals from the blacks often led to worse crimes.

Even now, in the far north of Queensland, we hear stories of the shooting of blacks and of other wicked acts. It is well-nigh impossible to prove these things, but it is difficult not to believe some of them. Meanwhile, the blacks are steadily dying out before us. Pneumonia—due largely to the intermittent use of clothing—opium and venereal disease are doing their fell work, and soon—perhaps in fifty years—the black population of Australia will have disappeared.

A mission to the aborigines, then, must possess a deep though chastened interest to a Christian in Australia. A hundred years indeed have passed. Millionaires have made their fortunes. Governments and States have grown up, and Australia has entered upon the arena of the world's history. It is not much that after all these years we Christians have bethought ourselves of the people we have elbowed out. It is not much that half a dozen mission stations now exist in Queensland. But it is something. It means that a Christian people is awaking to its neglected duty, and intends now to lift up its hands for the remnant that is left.

The Mitchell River Mission—for so it is called—is the newest of the missions at work amongst the blacks. A year ago the site of the station was virgin bush. The naked savages who crowded round us a fortnight ago with explosions of laughter, whose shoulders we patted who

hilariously compared the baldness of our heads with their own, who parted from us with friendly yells of approval, regarded the white man twelve months since as their natural enemy, and were prepared to spear him whenever they could in safety. Indeed, they attempted to rush the camp of the missionaries upon their first arrival. But now all is changed. They trust us. They understand that the 500 miles of country reserved for them is their own ; and on their part they are prepared to stop spearing white men's cattle and behave themselves. How has the change been effected ? The Bishop of Carpentaria and the Rev. E. R. Gribble (whose splendid work at the Yarrabah Mission for the past twelve years marks him out as a high authority upon work among the aboriginals) made a memorable expedition to this little-known region in June 1904, and again in July 1905. On this latter occasion they selected the site of the station, established relations with the neighbouring tribes, started the erection of a temporary mission house, and after a month's stay departed leaving three missionaries in charge. In response to Mr. Gribble's invitation a few men and lads were soon forthcoming—attracted, let us acknowledge, more by the regular rations than by any hunger after truth—and took up their abode on the station as catechumens. There are now twenty-nine of these, including two married women and two girls. These catechumens are under regular discipline ; they pass their days according to a fixed time-table, attend school, learn the elements of self-control, and apply themselves to the varied practical work which a new station demands. They have built, beside the mission house, a sleeping hut for themselves, a school, and two huts for the married couples, while a hospital at the time of my visit was nearing completion. This latter will be a valuable addition to the mission plant. For one of the interesting and hopeful phenomena of the work is the readiness with which the wild tribes have discovered the practical value of the mission, and the sick are constantly coming in for treatment, some from great distances. And the tribes themselves follow their sick. The Bishop computes that at least 700 blacks have visited the mission between July 1905 and July 1906. They recognise the kindly object of the missionaries ;

they speak well of them to others, and it seems that we may fairly claim that already the mission has established friendly and permanent relations with those whom it seeks to reach. Meanwhile the work of influence has begun. A few are learning to work and discipline themselves, and by degrees, through the discipline of work and contact with Christian character, they will be led on, we hope, to the need for higher things in their own life. Elementary education is going on. The adults, it is true, make but little progress, but the boys are quick—quicker to learn, the Bishop finds, than the South Sea Islanders, though less trustworthy. They know their alphabet and can spell a little. They have learnt to count up to seventy. And Christian education has begun too. There are daily prayers and Sunday services, at which a choir of boys take a leading part, clad in white loin-cloths "for glory and beauty" in contrast to the coloured loin-cloths which are required of all dwellers on the station. A good testimony to the effect of all this was given to me during my visit. A squatter from the nearest station—twelve miles off—came over to see the Bishop, and he frankly told us that the work of the mission during the year had led him to relinquish the prejudice with which he had witnessed its formation. "There has been no spearing of cattle," he said, "since you came. I must be frank; I think you are doing good." When a camp of wild blacks appears in the vicinity the missionaries go out and hold a service there. They do not expect any response, but it seems right that from the first the blacks should learn that we have something else in view besides providing them with a reserve, and with tobacco to smoke. These services are a weird experience. We walked out on Sunday night in procession—catechumens, missionaries, the Bishop, and I. As we drew near the camp fires we saw the dusky figures of our congregation crowding out to look at us, and dark objects here and there on the ground represented the more enterprising aspirants for front seats. We sang hymns by the light of a single hurricane lamp until the rising moon began to throw a dim unearthly light across the scene. The Bishop prayed in English, and I said a few words through an interpreter. After service the congregation rose up and

crowded round us. Much laughter, jabber, and hugging of the missionaries by the lads seemed to bespeak a spirit of peace and goodwill, and we moved away amid a hilarious mob of dancing and yelling friends.

The whole work is in its infancy. Here, if anywhere in the world, the Church is working upon virgin soil ; and I confess that my experience led me to dream dreams of boundless hope. In the first place, these missions are refuting in fact and experience the oft-repeated formula that it is impossible to raise the Australian aboriginal. The moral of Yarrabah, of Mapoon, of Mitchell River is that, given favourable circumstances (especially isolation from contact with the whites), the Queensland aboriginal is docile, law-abiding, and even quick to learn. Thirdly, we wonder whether, if their natural habits and characteristics are widely dealt with, and they are preserved from the contamination of the white man's drink and the white man's lust, the extermination of the race is after all so near. Mr. Hey, the experienced Moravian missionary in charge of the Presbyterian Mission at Mapoon, told me that the population of the blacks with whom he was in touch was at present increasing. It is certainly clear that northern Queensland needs population. It is equally clear that the tropical climate is very unsuitable for white men. It would be no small boon to the State if the missions could leave a legacy in years to come of a Christianised native population engaged in such pastoral or agricultural work as the circumstances of the country or their own capacity permits. But these are dreams. The essential point at present is that great reserves for the blacks should be kept inviolate from the white population. Civilised Australia should be content with the land it has already taken ; what remains at present as black man's country should be secured to them by law in the shape of reserves, and no temptation of fertility or mineral wealth should be allowed to influence the Government to curtail these reserves so long as there are blacks to inhabit them.

ST. CLAIR BRISBANE.

### ST. THOMAS AND HIS TOMB AT MYLAPORE.

IN the first century of the Christian era two empires, the Roman and the Parthian, divided the greater part of the civilised world, and two apostles divided the primacy of the Church. If St. Peter was the *summus pontifex* of the West, all the Churches of the East derived their descent directly or indirectly from St. Thomas. According to Origen St. Thomas was the Apostle of Parthia, and the apochryphal "Acts of Judas Thomas" mention his visit to Gondophernes, a contemporary Parthian prince, who ruled on the Indus, and whose coins and inscriptions have been recently discovered. The Church of Edessa prided itself on the possession of the apostle's relics, and boasted that it had been established by his follower Addai; while the Persian Church claimed exemption from the authority of the Katholikos at Seleucia on the ground that its foundation was the work of the apostle. India was associated with his name, occasionally in the third century, and universally in the fourth; and later ages mention in detail the Parthians, Medes, Persians, Hyrcanians, Bactrians, and perhaps the people of Merv, as witnesses of his labours. Babylonia alone, among all the satrapies of the Parthian empire, possessed a Christian Church independently of St. Thomas. The apostle of the Jewish Christians of Babylonia was St. Bartholomew and their rulers were the brethren of the Lord; but when these Jewish Christians died out or were absorbed, the Churches of the Pagan converts who succeeded them, ascribed their conversion to Mari, the companion and follower of Addai, and were thus brought within the cycle of the more famous apostle.

The primacy of St. Peter was based on the Gospel

narrative and the words of Christ ; the primacy of St. Thomas—more in consonance with oriental thought—on his birthright. He was surnamed Didymus, or the twin, the twin of Christ ; and his legend, handed down to us in the “ Acts of Judas Thomas,” a work popular throughout the Christian world, exalts this idea to the uttermost. His conception is ascribed to the Holy Spirit ; and his bodily resemblance to our Lord causes the spectators continually to confound them. A carpenter by trade, he not only makes yokes and ploughs, like Joseph in the apochryphal Gospels, but builds mansions in heaven, heals diseases, casts out devils, brings the dead to life, rides in triumph into the city on an ass ; finally, he is transfixed with a lance by a quaternion of soldiers. On the other hand, being an apostle, he is the voluntary slave of Christ, and literally sold by Him to Haban, the Indian prince’s merchant—the legend here, as elsewhere, translating pure allegory into the language of bare fact.

What amount of truth exactly may underlie the legend of St. Thomas’s apostolate it is impossible to say ; but that it contains a considerable amount of truth seems pretty certain. The Jews of Babylonia in the first century A.D. were perhaps as numerous as, and scarcely less important than, those of Palestine. They had large communities in Media and Elam, and were found in the Far East. It is evident from the language of Josephus, that they were well acquainted with Abhira, the country at the mouth of the Indus, which they identified with Ophir ; and the Jews of China trace their origin to an early Jewish colony in Afghanistan. That a Jewish apostle should make the tour of his countrymen is neither incredible nor impossible. And it is only on some such supposition that we can account for the early spread of Christianity throughout the Parthian empire. Bardaisan, the best-informed Oriental of his day—that is, of the end of the second and beginning of the third century A.D.—says that the Christians were very numerous, and he casually mentions the existence of Christian communities in Persia, Media, and Bactria. A century later, at the Council of Nicæa, one of the signatories signs himself “ John, the Persian, Bishop of the Church in Persia and Great India,” presumably the great

country which stretched away eastwards beyond the limits of the Persian empire. Another century, and this great diocese had been divided into smaller ones ; in 424 A.D. a Bishop of Herat attended a synod at Seleucia. This wide and early spread of Christianity argues great missionary zeal at a very early period. To these general considerations we must add a grain of unsuspected historical fact preserved in the "Acts of St. Thomas" ; for the legend which connects St. Thomas with Gondophernes is curiously correct in several particulars. It gives the name of an obscure and forgotten princeling ; it makes him a contemporary of St. Thomas, and the ruler of a country which was for a short time only under Parthian rule ; and in each point it is perfectly right. Edessa, the centre of Mesopotamian Christianity, which boasted itself so greatly of possessing the relics of the apostle, would certainly have disputed the claim of the Persian Church to be the apostle's handiwork, had there not been some foundation for the statement. We have learnt of late that early and unvarying tradition, whether in matters ecclesiastical or secular, frequently embodies a considerable amount of truth ; and early and unvarying tradition vouches for the Parthian apostolate of St. Thomas.

The martyrdom of St. Thomas stands on quite a different footing. Here the tradition is neither early nor unvarying, but vague and contradictory. Heracleon, a Sicilian gnostic, who flourished about 170 A.D., says that St. Thomas ended his days in peace ; and Clement of Alexandria, who quotes the statement, does not deny it. Apart from the "Acts of Thomas," a gnostic work exceedingly difficult to date—which has come down to us in a much revised form—there is no mention of St. Thomas's martyrdom until the last half of the fourth century ; and by that time it was *de rigueur* that every apostle should have suffered martyrdom. Moreover the name of St. Thomas was now invariably connected with India ; for, although the Persian empire had receded from the Indus valley, the memory of the apostle's labours remained. Clearly, said the popular voice, the apostle must have suffered martyrdom, and India must have been the scene of his consummation. This, at any rate, was the belief of the Edessenes, who

declared that the apostle's bones had been secretly brought to their city—nobody could say exactly when or by whom. At length, in 394 A.D., the relics were transferred from their humble resting-place to the magnificent *martyrion* erected for their reception, and this *martyrion*, renowned throughout Asia and Europe for centuries, attracted pilgrims from far lands.

The tradition of Edessa left the scene of the apostle's death undefined; it sufficed to say that he died in India. In the seventh century, or later, the name of an unknown Indian town, Calamina or Calamita, was added, and under this corrupt form some Prakrit or Tamil word may be disguised. At length, in the last decade of the thirteenth century, two Italians, Marco Polo, the greatest of mediæval travellers, and John of Monte Corvino, first Archbishop of Cambalec, almost simultaneously announced the discovery of the apostle's tomb. It was to be seen in a little town called Mylapore, a town difficult of access, and lying out of the way of all commercial routes, on the east coast of India.

Mylapore, which was refounded by the Portuguese in 1504, and called by them San Thomé, is now a suburb of Madras. At no great distance from it are two granite hills, the "great mount" projecting 220 feet, the "little mount" only 80 feet above the level plain. Local legends connect both with St. Thomas. The "great mount" was the scene of his martyrdom, and on the "little mount" his Oratory stood. Another table-topped hill on the Coromandel coast is also associated with his name. The great and little mounts, although now so close to the haunts of men, were lonely wooded hills, hard of approach, in a sparsely populated region. When first discovered by Europeans they were a place of pilgrimage and nothing more. On the "great mount" stood a church and a monastery, with lodging-houses for pilgrims; the population was less than a thousand; and Pagans and "Saracens" as well as Christians resorted to the shrine, as they still frequent the tomb of St. Francis Xavier at Goa. In the fifteenth century the country round was devastated with wars. Pilgrimages ceased, the place was abandoned, the buildings fell into ruins, and when the Portuguese arrived a native fakir was the sole occupant.



Mylapore (to call it by its native name of Peacock Town,) is far from all the haunts of the Syrian Christians; no Christian community has ever resided in its neighbourhood, and the mass of the Syrian Christians are on the opposite coast of India. How came it, then, to be a sacred spot, and the centre of a Christian legend? So great is the difficulty that Bishop Medlycott, the latest writer on the subject, boldly stands forth for the identification of the locality and the truth of the legendary martyrdom. But it is hard for anyone to believe that St. Thomas ever came to Mylapore. He was the apostle of Parthia, and every early indication points to the Indus valley as the scene of his Indian labours. The east coast of India was unknown to the Roman merchants of the first century; neither Pliny nor the author of the "Periplus" knew anything of it; and the earliest Roman coins found on the east coast of the Madras Presidency are of the second century.

There is nothing to show, nor is it likely, that the merchants from the Persian Gulf were better informed. Moreover, we naturally ask, what was there to attract them to a lonely spot fitter for hermits than for trade? Such a place can scarcely have been selected by an apostle for the scene of his labours; and the origin of the legend must be sought for elsewhere.

The shrine at Mylapore had been for many centuries in existence when it was visited by Marco Polo and the Archbishop of Cambalec. In the ruins of the church the Portuguese found a slab with a cross and a Pahlavi inscription (dating, according to Dr. Burnell, from the seventh or eighth century), carved in relief upon it; the carving was the work of a native artist, and the stone had been brought from Sadras, a place forty miles distant. Notices of two early European visitors to the shrine have been preserved. St. Gregory of Tours, in a work written before 590 A.D., says that he had met with a certain Theodore, a visitor to the shrines of St. Thomas in India and in Edessa; and each, he says, was distinguished by certain miraculous signs. His statement runs thus:

"In that place in India where the apostle's body first rested, there stands a monastery and a church of striking dimensions, studiously adorned and designed. In this temple God manifests

Himself by a mighty miracle. For a log of wood placed in it gives forth a brilliant light, and shines with perpetual splendour before the place of the apostle's sepulchre ; and that entirely by the command of the Divine Will and without any assistance from rushes or from oil. Wind does not extinguish the fire, nor any accident diminish it, nor is the log consumed at all by the conflagration ; but it is maintained by the virtue of the apostle, a miracle unintelligible to men and wholly due to the power of God. Theodore, who had visited the place, gave us an account of it."

So says Gregory, and then proceeds to treat of the miracle at Edessa which does not at present concern this history. The next recorded visitors are two Saxons, Sighelm and Aethelstan. They were sent, says the *Saxon Chronicle*, by King Alfred, in 883, in consequence of a vow, with alms to Rome "and also to India to St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew." The statement is unconfirmed, and has been questioned ; but there is nothing incredible in it. On a previous occasion King Alfred sent an embassy to the Patriarch of Jerusalem ; and in the days of the Abbaside Caliphs the road from Jerusalem to India was as open for Christians as for others. Communities of Syrian Christians abounded at the head of the Persian Gulf, Socotra was more than half Christian, and there were several Christian churches on the west coast of India. Two large colonies of Christians, including Christians from Jerusalem and the head of the Persian Gulf, are said to have established themselves in India within the two preceding centuries ; and the contemporary narratives of two Mohammedan travellers show that the road to India was well known, and the journey, although tedious, not difficult.

King Alfred's embassy takes us back to the ninth century ; the Persian Cross, already mentioned, to the seventh or eighth, and Theodore's narrative to the sixth. Theodore's visit is not only the earliest, but in some respects the most important, for it enables us to fix the date of the rise of the legend ; and the mention of the miraculous log, as I shall presently show, makes it certain that the shrine he visited was Mylapore. Theodore probably visited the shrine in the last quarter of the sixth century. Fifty or sixty years before Theodore, Cosmas Indicopleustes, the Nestorian merchant and monk, had

sailed the Arabian sea and visited the west coast of India. He describes the churches which he found there as well as in Ceylon ; and, speaking of Ceylon, he says : " I know not whether there be any Christians in the parts beyond it." Had the shrine of St. Thomas been famous in 525 A.D. this ardent Christian and inquisitive merchant would certainly have heard of it. We, therefore, infer that the shrine was either not in existence or not famous until the sixth century was half over ; nor is it probable that the tomb was long discovered before its fame was noised abroad.

If the tomb was discovered in the sixth century, it is easy to guess who were the discoverers. The monks were the only permanent inhabitants of the place both in the days of Theodore and of Marco Polo ; and a monastery and church were the only buildings. From a very early date hermits and monks played a great part in the diffusion of Eastern Christianity, especially in the wilder districts. A couple of hermits, for instance, are said to have converted the inhabitants of all the mountainous region between Media and the Tigris valley. St. Jerome expressly mentions the monks of India as well as those of Persia. Now, both in the East and in the West, the discovery of wonder-working graves was almost entirely the work of these wandering ascetics, as it is the work of Hindu and Mohammedan fakirs in India at the present day ; and an African synod both described and censured the prevailing practice. The discovery of the tomb of St. Thomas on the summit of a wooded hill, far from the habitations of men, and from all other Christian communities, must certainly have been the work of some Christian hermit. When the fame of its miraculous powers was spread, a monastic establishment was sure to follow.

The legend itself suggests the reason for the selection of this particular spot. The ancient "Acts of Thomas" conclude with the story of a miraculous cure wrought by the dust of the apostle's tomb. Now Marco Polo says :

"The Christians who perform the pilgrimage collect earth from the spot where he (the apostle) was slain, which is of a red colour, and reverentially carry it away with them, often employing it after-

wards in the performance of miracles, and giving it, when diluted with water, to the sick, by which many disorders are cured."

Thus the miracle which the "Acts of Thomas" had related of King Mazdai, was constantly repeated at this shrine. The redness of the earth, which Marco Polo especially notes, gives the origin of the legend; for did not the earth itself bear witness that it had been stained by the apostle's blood? One early traveller expressly says that the apostle preached throughout the night, "while all his blessed blood was welling from his side." It stained the ground, it stained the cross (so an Italian traveller says); annually the cross sweated blood on the anniversary of the apostle's death. It would be easy to find other Indian parallels. I select two from the famous Chinese traveller Hiouen Thsang who traversed India between 629 and 644 A.D.

The story of the Buddha giving his body to feed a hungry tigress and her seven starving cubs is one of the most famous of the Buddhist *Jataka*; it was represented in sculpture, and has been adopted, with modifications, by Hindus, Mohammedans, and Sikhs. Hiouen Thsang, describing the scene of this offering, says of it: "Originally the earth in this place was stained with the blood of Buddha, and even in his (Hiouen Thsang's) time it had a reddish tint, as well as all the trees and plants in its neighbourhood." The Buddhist story of Prince Sudana and the cruel Brahmin is almost equally famous. The Brahmin "beat the children until their blood ran to the ground. This blood dyed the spot, and the vegetation still retained a reddish hue." Where the devout Buddhist saw the traces of Buddha, the devout Christian hermit would see those of St. Thomas, and in both cases for precisely the same reason. The second wonder of the place was the miraculous log which burned before the tomb. It had disappeared by the thirteenth century, but the recollection of it lingered locally in an altered form. The local legend, according to Mari-gnolli and others, was to this effect: A great tree which St. Thomas the Carpenter had felled on Adam's Mount in Ceylon, floated by his command to Mylapore, and lay at the mouth of the river, blocking up the haven. Neither

the king's horses, nor his three hundred elephants, nor all his men, could move the log ; whereupon St. Thomas, who required the wood for the building of his church, bound his own girdle about it, and ordered his two slaves to drag it out, and this they did with ease. The apostle's miraculous girdle is the girdle of the Blessed Virgin, which she gave him after her assumption, and which King Edward the Confessor presented to Westminster Abbey to be one of its chiefest treasures. Now the story of the girdle first appears in the Latin *Transitus Mariæ*, a work which is later than the Greek version of the *Dormitio Mariæ*, a fourth century work, and earlier than the time of Pope Gelasius, who mentions it. Whatever may be its exact date, it is considerably earlier than the discovery of St. Thomas's tomb.

Thus the cult of St. Thomas's tomb at Mylapore is a Christian example of a practice which has always prevailed, and still prevails undiminished, throughout India—the worship of nameless wonder-working tombs. A *Sun-yasi*, a Ghazi, a saint—are they not all holy wonder-working men, claimed alike by worshippers of every creed ? Marco Polo says that Pagans as well as Christians made pilgrimages to the tomb at Mylapore ; they called the saint *Avarian*, or holy man. According to other accounts, the church on the mount was full of idols, and St. Thomas was painted “riding on an ass, wearing a shirt, a stole, a mantle of peacocks' feathers, and attended by two great lions”—a representation which reminds one rather of a Hindu divinity than of a Christian saint. It was a semi-Pagan cult, and it would have disappeared altogether with the destruction of the church and monastery in the fifteenth century if the Portuguese had not heard the story and rebuilt the shrine. Western saints, in the centuries immediately succeeding Constantine, had frequent occasion to expose the claims of so-called martyrs' tombs to superstitious veneration, nor is it less the duty of the modern historian. He cannot claim the supernatural insight by which St. Martin discovered that the bones of a supposed martyr were those of a robber justly executed for his crimes ; he has to grope his way, and his materials are fragmentary and his analogies may be wrong. But historical evidence is merely a

question of comparative probabilities, and all the probabilities point to the solution we have suggested. The greatest authorities have never implicitly accepted the legend of Mylapore, nor is it likely to find credence in this sceptical age. But it can at least boast of a respectable antiquity ; it has charmed many a devout fancy ; and it has found a warm defender in the pious and learned Bishop Medlycott, the latest, but also the most credulous, of its historians.

J. KENNEDY.

## THE RED INDIAN MISSIONS IN NORTH-WEST CANADA.

### THEIR FIRST HALF-CENTURY.

AT a time when sympathy with the Church in Canada is being so widely and so justly felt, in view of the immense immigration into the vast plains forming some of the north-western dioceses, it may be interesting to trace the story, however briefly, of the Missions to the Red Indians who were formerly almost the only inhabitants of those immeasurable territories. In this article I do not touch upon the work done among the tribes of Eastern Canada, *i.e.* in the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario, nor upon the Missions beyond the Rocky Mountains in British Columbia. I confine myself to the enormous area stretching from Lake Superior and Hudson's Bay westward to the Rockies, and from the United States frontier northward to the Polar Sea—that is to say, the present ecclesiastical province of Rupert's Land.

This territory, now generally known as “the Northwest,” was given by Charles II. to Prince Rupert and the Hudson's Bay Company in 1670, eighty years before Canada proper became a British possession through Wolfe's victory at Quebec. The access to it, in fact, was not through what was then called Canada at all, but by way of Hudson's Strait into Hudson's Bay, that vast sheet of water into which the whole of the British Isles could be dropped, and drowned. A ship sailed from England once a year in June, to York Factory, on the western shore of the bay, leaving again early in September before the ice closed the navigation. Gradually the Company established “factories” or trading-posts at different points on the great rivers, where the furs purchased from the wandering

Indians were stored until they could be shipped to this country. The employees were mostly Scotchmen, and naturally a half-breed population sprang up in course of years, to which population Frenchmen from Canada also contributed. By the rules of the Company, the "chief factor" at each post was to read the Church Service to their men on Sundays; but nothing seems to have been done for the Indians. These Indians belonged to two main races, the Algonquin and the Tinné, which comprised many tribes and languages, notably the Crees, the Ojibbeways or Sotos (sometimes spelt Chippeways and Saulteaux), the Chipewyans and the Blackfeet; while on the Arctic coasts were the Eskimo.

In 1811 the Earl of Selkirk established an agricultural settlement on the Red River, south of Lake Winnipeg. That settlement has grown into the great city of Winnipeg, which bids fair ere long to rival even Montreal and Toronto in population and importance. In 1820 one of the Hudson's Bay Company's officers, Mr. Pritchard, came over to England to try to get a clergyman to go and minister to the settlers; and the Company thereupon requested the Rev. John West, curate of White Roding, Essex, to go out there as chaplain. It is an interesting fact that nine of Mr. Pritchard's sons and grandsons and great-grandsons are clergymen to-day, and one of them is the present Archbishop of Rupert's Land. Before sailing, Mr. West, backed by Mr. Pritchard, approached the Church Missionary Society, asking for money to start schools for the Indian children; and a grant of £100 was made to him. On arriving at Red River, he wrote urging the establishment of a Mission; and his suggestion was adopted, £800 a year being voted, and one of the Society's students, David Jones, being sent out to join him in 1822. In that same year Sir John Franklin, just returned from one of his Arctic expeditions, went to the Society and urged the extension of the Mission all over the North-west, particularly pressing the claims of the Eskimo. But many years were passed before these extensions were undertaken.

In 1825, another C.M.S. student—a sturdy Northumbrian from Chillingham named Cockran—went out, the



Bishop of London giving him both deacon's and priest's orders before he sailed. He never returned to England, but laboured assiduously at Red River until he had accomplished what has been well called "a finished course of forty years," and died Archdeacon of Assiniboine. He founded what is still known as the Indian Settlement, a few miles down the river from Fort Garry, the Company's headquarters; but his work, and that of the comrades who joined him from time to time, was by no means confined to the Indians. They ministered regularly to the settlers and the Company's factors, and in fact laid the foundation of the Church of the Canadian North-west. Of these comrades the most important was Abraham Cowley, a *protégé* of the Rev. Lord Dynevor's at Fairford in Gloucestershire. His was a "finished course of forty-six years," and he eventually died Archdeacon of Cumberland, and Prolocutor of the Lower House in the Synod of Rupert's Land.

Cowley's journey out in 1841 illustrates the difficulties of communication in those days. He was sent *viâ* Canada, and was ordained deacon *en route* by the Coadjutor Bishop of Montreal. But he could get no further. There proved to be no means of traversing the dismal plains and forests of Algoma, through which the luxurious Canadian Pacific express now speeds its way; and Cowley had actually to return to England, arriving just in time to sail again by the annual ship direct to Hudson's Bay. But three years later, that same Bishop, Dr. G. J. Mountain, managed the difficult land journey—or rather, river and lake journey, for it was all done in canoes, except when the travellers had to carry their canoes over the portages. The tortuous route, up one river, down another, and across Lakes Nipissing, Huron, Superior, Rainy, Woods, and Winnipeg, exceeded 2,000 miles. The Bishop was astonished at what he saw. He found hundreds of baptized Indians on Red River; and that two of them had been sent as evangelists to stations 500 and 700 miles away, where they were already gathering converts. He confirmed 846 candidates, white and coloured; gave Cowley priest's orders; delivered sixteen addresses in seventeen days; and then started on his long journey back to Canada.

The year in which Cowley went out, 1841, was the year

of the foundation of the Colonial Bishoprics Fund. There were then ten bishoprics abroad, viz., four in British North America, two in the West Indies, three in India, and one in Australia. A list of new ones required was made, New Zealand being the first, to which Selwyn was consecrated in that same year. But no one thought of the little Church in the Far West. Among the thirteen spheres contemplated it had no place. Nevertheless within eight years, that is in 1849, the see of Rupert's Land was founded, an endowment being partly provided by a bequest from Mr. Leith, a chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the Company adding a yearly grant of £300. On Whit Tuesday, May 29, 1849, Canterbury Cathedral witnessed the consecration of a bishop for the first time since the days of Queen Elizabeth. Of two bishops indeed, and both for the mission-field. One was to go to the Far East, and one to the Far West; one to the countless millions of China, and one to the scattered tribes of the Hudson's Bay territories. George Smith and David Anderson were consecrated together, the first Bishop of Victoria, Hong Kong, and the first Bishop of Rupert's Land. They met again eight years later on the platform of Exeter Hall, both being speakers at the C.M.S. anniversary in 1857. Nobody that day dreamed that within a few days an event would occur that would cause China and Rupert's Land to be almost forgotten, and concentrate all eyes upon India. The meeting was, as usual, on a Tuesday. The following Sunday will be for ever memorable for the outbreak of the great Indian Mutiny at Meerut.

Bishop Anderson, like the missionaries who had preceded him, went by the Company's annual ship to Hudson's Bay. He landed at York Factory on August 16, 1849. "It was a bright and beautiful day," he wrote. "Before landing, I asked the captain to allow us to sing the Doxology together; and he at once assembled all hands on deck, and we sang, under the open canopy of heaven, 'Praise God from whom all blessings flow,' after which I offered a few words of prayer, and pronounced the Blessing." While stopping a few days at York, the Bishop received an unlooked-for testimony to the character of the Indians

circle, 2,000 miles of travelling distance from Red River. Subsequently Mr. Kirkby and Mr. McDonald (the latter a half-breed native of the country) extended the work to every post in those remote latitudes, and baptized some hundreds of Indians.

In those distant regions much self-denying work has been also done by French Roman missionaries, mostly by the Oblates of St. Mary. In the Athabasca district the great majority of the Christian Indians are their adherents; and many likewise in the Mackenzie and Yukon territories. The medals, pictures, amulets and small crucifixes which are widely distributed appeal to the simple people. One picture sent to England represented the Roman priests and monks ascending straight to Heaven, their faithful adherents passing through purgatory, and the Protestants falling down into hell. Another, much used, represented our Lord's Mother, and bore the following inscription:

Véritable portrait de la très Vierge Marie, mère de notre Seigneur Jésus Christ, d'après le portrait peint par St. Luc Evangeliste. Des grâces sans nombre sont attachées à cette image.

Linguistic work proved to be an important department of Red Indian Missions. The languages and dialects are numerous, and are not only of the agglutinative family, but of the polysyllabic branch of it; and the immense length of the words, which sometimes contain within themselves several parts of speech, has made the task of reducing the languages to writing, constructing grammars, and translating the Scriptures &c., exceptionally difficult. Thus, "He made the water wine" becomes in Chippeway only one word, *Zhâhwemendhboowetôopun*. Hunter and Henry Budd together translated large parts of the New Testament into Cree, and as much as possible of the services for Baptism, Confirmation, Holy Communion, Marriage, Churching, and Burial—services which proved of the greatest practical use in teaching the people the true meaning of the various rites. But at the outlying stations there was great difficulty in teaching the Indians to read, because they were generally wandering about at their hunting, and only came to the "fort" or "factory" to dispose

of the furs they had collected. They were wont, indeed, to stay there for two or three weeks when they came, and during that time the missionaries "kept school" morning, noon, and night ; but of course the time was all too short for much progress, eager as the Indians were to learn. The difficulty, however, was partly surmounted in the Hudson's Bay district by the use, instead of the Roman alphabet, of a syllabic system which had been invented by a former Wesleyan missionary named Evans. So simple is this clever system that Indians were frequently found able to learn it in the course of a couple of visits to the station. The Scriptures and other books have been printed in this character ; and it has since been used also for the Eskimo. At Red River, and further west, the Roman character has been retained.

Bishop Anderson came home and retired in 1865. In May of that year he preached the C.M.S. Anniversary Sermon at St. Bride's, and from the pulpit he read a letter from Fort Simpson on the Mackenzie River. The writer, Robert McDonald, said he was dying, alone : what would become of the work ? "Shall no one," exclaimed the Bishop, "come forward to take up the standard of the Lord as it drops from his hands, and occupy the ground ?" A young clergyman from Lincolnshire walked into the vestry after the service, and offered to go. This was William Carpenter Bompas. He started on June 30, and reached Fort Simpson on Christmas Eve, to find McDonald recovered. Another "finished course of forty years" was fulfilled, and on June 9 of this present year, 1905, Bishop Bompas passed to his rest—leaving Arch-deacon McDonald still in the flesh, and only just retiring after fifty-four years in the ministry.

The vacant see of Rupert's Land was filled up by the appointment of the Rev. Robert Machray, Fellow of Sidney Sussex. Was there ever a happier selection for a colonial bishopric ? Has there been any other bishop who in equal degree has devoted himself and all he had to the building up of the Church on firm and statesmanlike lines in a young colony ? Justly did Machray eventually become the first Archbishop of the English Church beyond the Seas, and Prelate of the Order of St. Michael and

St. George. And he too fulfilled a course of little short of forty years.

When Bishop Machray went out in 1865 great changes were already commencing in hitherto isolated Rupert's Land. In the first place, the Canadians, tired of clearing the dense forests that backed the long line of civilisation on the St. Lawrence from Lake Erie to the Atlantic, turned their eyes enviously towards the open prairies of the Saskatchewan Plains, and were beginning to consider the possibility of making a road from Lake Superior to Red River, a distance of only 400 miles as the crow flies ; although Sir George Simpson, the Governor of Rupert's Land, who did not want the gate opened into the Hudson's Bay Company's sacred preserves, declared that the project was impossible "unless the Bank of England were expended." In the second place, the population of the United States was extending to their northern frontier, and Minnesota was receiving many settlers ; and some of these settlers, who wanted to reach the rumoured gold-fields of British Columbia, perceived that their easiest way was down the Red River (which rises in or close to Minnesota, and flows northward into Manitoba), and then westward across the Plains. Indeed, it was then supposed that if ever a railway was to stretch across the continent it would have to go across the Plains, because the routes within the United States territory were supposed to be impracticable. As we know, the American Pacific Railway was constructed long before the Canadian one ; but this was not foreseen forty years ago. Meanwhile, the isolation of Manitoba was broken into by American whisky-traders, who organised a regular service of huge wooden carts between the rising city of St. Paul, in Minnesota, and Fort Garry, the future Winnipeg, which brought the "fire-water" to the Indians on the British side, and wrought much havoc among them for a time.

Still, although these were signs of what was coming, the development of the country was yet slow. When Bishop Machray went out, there was "no one in the whole country following the business of a tailor, a shoemaker, or a watchmaker." All manufactured goods still came from England by the two annual ships to Hudson's Bay. But

the great political change now ensued. In 1867, Canada proper, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia were united under the name of the Dominion of Canada. In 1868, arrangements were made for the acquisition by the Dominion of all territorial rights in the North-west Territories from the Hudson's Bay Company, that Company remaining a trading association only. In 1869 the Red River Rebellion broke out, many of the Roman Catholic French half-breeds objecting to the new rule; and this led to the famous Red River Expedition which first made known the name of Garnet Wolseley. In 1870 the Red River district was formed into the Province of Manitoba, with the "city" of Winnipeg (pop. 300!), on the site of the old settlement under Lord Selkirk, as its capital. In 1871 British Columbia also became a province of the Dominion; and the Canadian Pacific Railway was projected, which it took fourteen years to complete.

The result to the Indians of the nearer districts was in many ways good. Lands were especially reserved for them; on these "reservations" liquor was prohibited, and there was now a market for the labour of those who were willing to work. Whether the benevolence of the Government towards them did not go too far, and encourage idleness and dependence, is a moot question. The Indians in the remoter parts were unaffected. Meanwhile, missionary work was extending among them in all directions, and several thousands were baptized. The S.P.G. was now also actively at work, chiefly on the great plains stretching westward from Red River, and primarily, but by no means exclusively, among the white immigrants then beginning to come in. It had commenced operations on a small scale as far back as 1850, when Bishop Anderson first went out; but under Bishop Machray it extended widely, and now for more than thirty years has taken a leading part in providing the ministrations of the Church, especially in the western districts.

In 1872 Bishop Machray appeared in England, and laid large and statesmanlike plans before the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Societies. These involved the division of his huge diocese of Rupert's Land into four. It was just at that time that Captain Butler's picturesque

book *The Great Lone Land* appeared, and did much to promote a truer appreciation of the country. It described the distance from Red River to the further posts on the Mackenzie as equal to that "from London to Mecca"; and this helped Churchmen to understand that a visit by Bishop Machray to those remoter stations would involve an absence of two years from his headquarters at Winnipeg. There could be no better argument for the creation of new bishoprics. His plans were warmly approved. For two new dioceses, Moosonee and Athabasca, the C.M.S. undertook to provide the stipends; and Horden and Bompas became the first bishops. For the third, Saskatchewan, an endowment was raised, the S.P.G. giving £2,000 and the S.P.C.K. £1,750; and John McLean, Warden of St. John's College, Winnipeg, was appointed to the see. It is worth noting that the first of the three consecrations, that of John Horden, took place at Westminster Abbey just five days before the memorable first Day of Intercession for Foreign Missions (Dec. 20, 1872)—a great epoch indeed in the missionary history of the Church of England.

In 1875 the first Provincial Synod of the ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land was held at Winnipeg. Bishops Machray, Horden and McLean were present, but Bishop Bompas had already gone into that distant north from which he never returned during the next thirty years. There was a welcome visitor, however, in the person of Bishop Whipple, whose diocese of Minnesota lay just across the frontier. The Prolocutor of the Lower House, as before mentioned, was the veteran Archdeacon Cowley. A constitution for the Province was drawn up, which has been the basis of all subsequent developments. The four dioceses are now nine, having been sub-divided from time to time to make the additional dioceses of Qu'Appelle, Calgary, Mackenzie, Selkirk, and Keewatin. The S.P.G. helped largely in providing endowments for Qu'Appelle and Calgary.

This article, which only professes to summarise the history of half a century, ought to have stopped at the year 1872. The diocesan extension of that year was the climax of the half-century's work. But to show how recent is the public appreciation of the great field so successfully evan-

gelised, let a *Times* article of 1877 be just referred to. Lord Dufferin was then Governor-General of Canada, and at Winnipeg he delivered one of the most picturesque of his great speeches, describing an imaginary canoe voyage on the rivers and lakes. The *Times* (Nov. 28) credited him with "introducing a new world to the knowledge of his countrymen." "The succession of enormous distances and strange surprises," it went on, "reads more like a voyage to a newly-discovered satellite than one to a region hitherto regarded simply as the fag-end of America and a waste bit of the world"—"a mere wilderness of lakes and rivers, in which life would be intolerable and escape impossible." Lord Dufferin's "new world" was in fact the region in which, during the previous fifty years, Christian missionaries had lived and worked, with the result of bringing many thousands of the wandering aborigines into the Church of Christ.

In the last three or four years the expenditure of the C.M.S. in the Dominion has been reduced; yet, although the Society is regarded as "withdrawing," it is still spending over £16,000. But the evangelisation of the pagan Indians, for which the mission was undertaken, may fairly be regarded as accomplished; and the care of them ought properly now to fall to the Canadian Church, although for some years to come the C.M.S. will still have heavy liabilities in connection with it. Meanwhile, the immense immigration of white settlers to the plains of Manitoba and Saskatchewan constitutes an urgent claim upon the societies which seek their religious welfare, and above all upon the S.P.G.; and this claim the S.P.G. justly now passes on to the whole Church of England. It is earnestly to be hoped that the Venerable Society, and also the Colonial and Continental Church Society, and every other agency engaged in the work, may be abundantly helped in providing the ministrations of the Church for the rapidly-growing population.

EUGENE STOCK.



## SOME ASPECTS OF EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

### A REPLY.

AN article under the above heading in the January number of EAST AND WEST concluded with four pages criticising the position and stability of the Grahamstown Training College, on the ground that ultimately it is more or less certain to lose its Government grants, and is therefore a bad investment for Church funds supplied from home. We all like to feel that we can depend upon the general accuracy of our EAST AND WEST ; and as the trend of the article in question is misleading, I venture, as one of those who are directly responsible for the Training College, and as one who is convinced that these gloomy prognostications for its future are groundless, to beg for an opportunity to make a brief reply.

"No one," argues the writer, "who looks at the facts will be able to convince himself that the present arrangement possesses the element of permanence." I think I may fairly claim to have looked at them, at least as long and as anxiously as any other ; and having successfully achieved the apparently impossible, and fully persuaded myself that long years hence this Training College will still remain one of the Church's most treasured possessions in South Africa, I feel constrained to give a reason for the faith which is in me.

The indictment, if I understand it rightly, falls under three main heads :

1. The commanding personality which called the College into being, only twelve years since, has now been withdrawn by death ; and it can hardly hope to prosper without her fostering care.

2. The atmosphere of the College is strongly "Anglican"; and it is merely a question of time before the "Free Churchmen" will rise in protest.
3. Whenever this happens, the Government of the day is pretty sure to yield; and then goodbye to all the money invested by a generation of earnest English Churchmen in this particular venture.

Let us take these objections in detail.

1. *Mother Cécile's "personal equation . . . . persuasive powers . . . . devoted labours . . . . : but these factors are no longer to be reckoned with."*

What a strange argument for ceasing to support the great work which, in the providence of God, she was allowed to build up! A scant measure of generosity might well have compelled even the least sympathetic to rally round the Sisters who have now entered into her labours in their day of bereavement and trial; instead of which, within a year of her death, their overwhelming loss is urged as a reason for discontinuing the help already given! Let me state quite simply to what extent the work has been affected by her removal.

It is probably true to say that the Training College would not have come into existence apart from her, and we can never forget the immensity of the debt it owed her throughout its early years. But for some considerable time past it has gone forward with embarrassing rapidity by the force of its own inherent vitality, and the only wonder will be if anything should interfere to arrest its growth. For several years before she was taken from us, Mother Cécile's physical powers had been consciously failing; and she was wisely led to decentralise, and to place large measures of responsible authority in other competent and trusted hands. To all intents and purposes the work has been independent of her personal control for the last two years; and yet I make bold to say that it has never been so vigorous or full of promise as at this moment. Let me quote the words of the Superintendent-General, commenting on February 5, to the students on the results of the recent December examinations:

"Out of thirty-seven girls who went in for the third-year examination thirty-five passed, and ten of these in the first grade. Of

forty-four girls who went in for the second-year examination forty-two passed, eleven being in the first grade, and of the thirty-four who went in for the first-year examination thirty-four passed, there being no failures at all, while fourteen were in the first grade. I do not know whether you have seen the last published *Education Gazette*, but there you will find a comparison made between the results attained by the various training colleges in the third-year examination, and your college is singled out as having done the best. Yet your third year is not your best, because I find in your first year that not only did you pass all your pupils, but that you also secured ten places out of the first twenty-six places. All that is most creditable. It means, when all is summed up, that there were 115 students entered for examinations, and all passed except four. I think that would be very hard to beat—111 passes, and thirty-five in the first grade."

(N.B.—These numbers are for those examinations of which the results are now known ; fifty students in addition to the above were entered for examinations, but the lists are not yet published.)

With figures like these advertised by the press throughout the country it is scarcely matter for surprise that as many as 96 new girls have come this term, and that the students of the college now number 185.

Nor, again, is it true to ascribe the existence of the Training College in any primary sense to Dr. Muir's personal appreciation of the great gifts of our late mother. These undoubtedly played their proper part ; but his avowed reason for turning to her in the first instance was the hopeless inadequacy of the supply of trained teachers—a need which will still be with us for many a long year—and the backwardness of educational bodies in coming forward to supply it. Since then he has found that our Sisters do the work as efficiently—I believe it is true to say more efficiently—than any similar institution in the country ; and in this efficient meeting of a deep and wide-felt want lies one, and not the least, of our guarantees of permanence. Under our recent Education Act the newly-constituted School Boards are breaking fresh ground throughout the country, and the cry for certificated teachers is becoming universal ; while, in spite of straitened times, the new Act is causing heavy additional expenditure. Are these the circumstances—and their issues in time must be far-reach-

ing—under which any sane Government is likely to withdraw its support from an institution which is already turning out some fifty trained teachers yearly? To build up an undenominational training college to cover the same ground would be a lengthy process, and would involve a large capital expenditure, besides a considerably larger annual outlay. It is reasonable to suppose that any sensible head of the Department will thankfully use the valuable instrument lying ready to his hand, and spend any further money at his disposal in starting other institutions to serve other districts. To many of us it is well-nigh unthinkable, under the conditions which must obtain in this country far into the future, that Government aid should be withdrawn from our college so long as it continues to do its proper work as at present, and in a manner so highly satisfactory to the Department.

2. *But the "atmosphere" of the Training College is "Anglican," and it can only be a question of time before Free Churchmen will enter an effective protest.*

I must plead guilty to a lurking suspicion, inbred of fifteen years' rather intimate acquaintance with this country, of that phrase "Church atmosphere." There are, thank God, good Church schools throughout our land; but when, as sometimes happens, the phrase merely covers up the deficiencies of a school which is notoriously failing to turn out keen and convinced Churchmen, one cannot help wondering why the Church is facing sacrifices at all for so unproductive and immaterial a return. In the case of the Training College, any who have ever visited it will bear me out in saying that its "Church atmosphere" is a great reality. Year after year a number of well-instructed and devout young Churchwomen are faring forth from its walls and upholding the good name of our Church in every accessible corner of South Africa. But our ambition for them neither begins nor ends there. A primary need, perhaps the fundamental need, of this great waste land is the silent witness of faithful Christlike lives; and I have yet to learn that it is a work unworthy of the Church of Christ to shelter this large group of girls during those critical years—say from fifteen to eighteen—under the very shadow of a community of devoted women who are them-

selves living the life, to train them in habits of simple personal religion, and to teach them the satisfying happiness of hearts and lives given back to God. Of such a kind, we earnestly hope and believe, are the large proportion of the girls sent forth, year by year, from our Grahamstown Training College to the service of the State and its schools, and that is why the members of non-episcopal bodies have dealt so generously by the place hitherto. Many members of our non-Anglican bodies and girls of the Dutch Reformed Church, several of them the daughters of ministers, have been entrusted to our care. They receive religious instruction from their own ministers, attend their own places of worship on Sunday, and in all other ways enjoy true liberty of conscience. In evidence that the system works smoothly on the whole let me quote from a local paper (the *Journal*, Grahamstown) the proprietor of which is himself a leading Wesleyan and a member of the Cape Parliament :

“From what we have seen of the college we find but little trace of the religious difficulty. The system of allowing religious instruction to be given by the ministers of the respective churches to the children, as desired by their parents, seems to work well. The aim of the college is to impart a first-class training to teachers combined with religious instruction, which, the Mother Superior holds, cannot be sundered if this country is to produce citizens and teachers, not only of intellectual ability, but also of high character and purity.”

To my own way of thinking we might do many worse things out here than pave the way for a new and better order by granting similar “facilities for entry” to our non-episcopal brethren in all our Church schools. As things are at present, under the stress of keen competition there may well be a chronic temptation to water down the Church teaching so as to suit the least common denominator, whereas under the system long since adopted here at the Training College we have at least the satisfaction of knowing that all whose parents wish them to be taught the Church’s faith get it definite and un mutilated.

I have neither the wish nor intention to indulge in cheap prophecy. My object is rather to face unquestioned facts and to deal with them on their merits. Let us suppose,

then, for the sake of argument, that the worst has come to the worst ; that, in spite of present appearances, Free Churchmen have lodged their protest, and that our grants are endangered, after years of first-rate work of a kind sorely needed by the Department, simply because we happen to be a denominational institution.

3. The contention of the article in question is that, under such circumstances, (a) *The Government of the day is bound to yield to the pressure, and (b) that the large sums of money already expended in buildings at the Training College will then be lost to the Church, and pass into the hands of the State for purposes exactly the opposite of those for which they were intended.*

With regard to (a) the balance of probability is against the Government doing anything of the kind ; while as for (b) it would be hard to imagine a more complete misstatement of facts.

(a) The position of our Training College is not the isolated and abnormal thing in the existing State system which the writer of your article would have us suppose. For thirty years past the Normal College at Cape Town has been on a similar footing, under the auspices and control of the Dutch Reformed Church ; why in the world, then, have not these anxious critics of ours long since exposed its manifest unfairness to English and Free Churchmen alike ? Every native training college too, though under purely denominational control, is receiving help from Government, and yet I never remember hearing fears expressed for their future on the ground that Government is likely to play fast and loose with them in years to come.

If ever an attack is made upon us the Government will have to deal not only with our own divided forces, but with the unbroken strength of the powerful Dutch party, and meanwhile there is sufficient ground for hoping that by that time a denominational training college, conducted on the broad tolerant lines of our own, will have secured its recognised and abiding place within our Government school system.

As regards the treatment meted out to St. Andrew's College by the State authorities in 1903, a matter which

forms an essential part of the argument under review, I append the authoritative explanation given by a leading member of St. Andrew's College Council, in case there are any who suppose that St. Andrew's lost its college department and State aid on the ground of its "Anglican atmosphere."

"The establishment of Rhodes University College in 1903 had absolutely nothing to do with 'Church atmosphere.' The movement began in 1893, but unfortunately failed for lack of support, and, to a certain extent, because St. Andrew's College did not fall in with the scheme. The success of the venture in 1903 was in no way due to the State aid or support. It was due, in the first instance, to the magnificent response made by the people and schools of Grahamstown, and also to the fact that people had then fully realised the absolute necessity for the establishment of a college for higher education in the Eastern province, seeing that the Education Department refused to pay salaries of more than four professors at St. Andrew's College; that they, whilst doing their uttermost, were simply unable to cope with the work required of them; and that a great deal of sorely needed work was never even touched.

"The grant of £50,000 from the Rhodes Trustees followed the establishment of the Rhodes College, but had not been made at the time it came into existence."

As to the question why more professors were not given to St. Andrew's College, one has only to refer to the numbers in attendance for an answer. In the last quarter before the professors and students were transferred to the Rhodes College there were twelve students in Arts, twenty-three in the Survey Course, and three miscellaneous.

As an argument in the present discussion, then, the experience of St. Andrew's seems wholly inapplicable. The fancied analogy is no analogy at all. The claim of the Training College for continued support lies in its proved efficiency to compass the work entrusted to it, and to add something not specifically prescribed in Government Codes, but highly valued by Government authorities. I quote again from Dr. Muir's words to the students of this Training College.

"Pass your examinations by all means . . . but I trust also that you young ladies will bear in mind that the passing of these

examinations is not everything. And when you have schools, by all means get your scholars to pass their necessary examinations—that is very desirable—but you must do much more. We have found in actual practice in the Education Office that the girls trained here do bring something else into their classes besides mere book-work. There is such a thing as ‘tone’ in a school: getting the children to be true and earnest, and anxious to do what is right. Bear in mind the idea which the Foundress of this institution always set before her—the idea of working hard—but it was hard work for the good of others. I can never think of her without seeing before me her strenuous life. There are various forms of strenuousness, and hers was ever fraught with good for others. Let, then, her example be a guide to you.”

(b) Sufficient cause has, perhaps, been given for thinking that the withdrawal of State aid from our Training College is in the last degree improbable. But supposing that, in spite of all, the unexpected should happen, and our critics awake some day to find themselves justified? Then the Training College would still continue its work as at present, only without Government aid. Crippled for a time we should be, but we are far too sensible of the good thing entrusted to our care, and far too deeply conscious that a Purpose greater than our own is here working itself out, to think of turning back. With many thousands of pounds’ worth of fine buildings, the inalienable property of the English Church, with an established reputation after so short a history, with a teaching staff of Sisters second to none, and a big and growing crowd of enthusiastic friends—girls, parents, and educational experts alike—we should be craven indeed to begin looking back. By our trust, the buildings of the community are all available for other than educational purposes; and if ever the Sisters should fail to make full use of them, they revert not to the State, as the writer of your article suggests, but to the synod of the diocese of Grahamstown. I for one never expect to see a single building of our Training College put to any but its own proper uses; and I should reserve my pity for the unfortunate rival training college, should some future turn of the wheel call it into existence.

DOUGLAS ELLISON.



## EDITORIAL NOTES.

*Introductions to our readers.* *Sir Ernest Satow*, G.C.M.G., is a well-known authority on things Eastern. He entered the Japan consular service as far back as 1861. In 1885 he became Minister-Resident in Siam, and in 1895 returned to Tokyo. In 1900 he became British Minister at Pekin. His impressions concerning missionary work in the far east will be read with much interest.

*Bishop Gibson* has been for many years in South Africa, and was until lately coadjutor Bishop of Capetown, a position which he has resigned through ill-health. The problem which he discusses is one of the most difficult problems raised by missionary work in Africa.

The *Rev. B. H. Maclean* has for many years been doing good work in Southern India in connection with the United Free Church of Scotland Missionary Society.

*Dr. A. C. Lankester* has been for sixteen years a medical missionary in connection with the Church Missionary Society on the north-western frontier of India. We commend his article to medical students and to qualified English doctors who are in search of useful work, or who are in doubt as to their vocation.

*Mr. Eugene Stock*, until recently Editorial Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, needs no introduction to those who take interest in missionary work in any part of the world. We have been indebted to him on several occasions for articles which have appeared in our pages.

The *Rev. Douglas Ellison*, the Warden of St. Peter's Home, Grahamstown, will be known to many of our readers in connection with the Railway Mission in South Africa, the work of which he has done much to promote. His article should be read together with that on South African education which appeared in our last issue.

*Missionary work  
and public opinion.*

H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES has kindly promised to lay the foundation stone on April 27 of the new House which the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts is erecting behind Westminster Abbey, at the corner of Wood Street and Tufton Street. No one can accuse the oldest of our existing missionary societies of undue haste in providing itself with a house of a size proportionate to the extent of its existing work. For more than two centuries it has lived in no house at all, or in a hired house, or at best in a house which it owned but which was disproportionately small for its work. Though the oldest of the English missionary societies, it has been the last to obtain for itself a suitable house in London. As we look at the large sets of offices in different parts of London which represent the work that is being done all over the world by different missionary societies, it is hard to realise that a generation has not passed since the *Times* newspaper published a leading article in which it questioned the existence of any results of missionary work anywhere, and in a tone of good-humoured contempt, said: 'Upon an occasion somebody can be produced who can tell of wonders done in some cities or regions of India a very long time since, with a careful reticence as to the last half- or quarter-century. An ordinary Englishman has seen almost every heathen or brute native of foreign climes, but few can say that they have seen a missionary or a Christian convert.' We are not in the confidence of the present Editor of the *Times*, but we feel sure that if our readers will examine any reference which may appear in its columns on Monday, April 29 to missionary work they will realise something of the change which has come over public opinion as represented by the daily press during the last thirty years.

*The scope of  
THE EAST AND  
THE WEST.*

WE print later on a letter from the Bishop of Lebombo, South Africa, pleading that no modification may be allowed of the original scope of THE EAST AND THE WEST. We have explained to him that in view of the fact that an article which appeared in a former issue (October 1903), the object of which was to show that missionaries had nothing to fear, but everything to gain, by

welcoming any assured results of the newer criticism, was misunderstood and caused serious distress to some of our readers, more harm than good might arise from the adoption at the present time of his first suggestion. We have, however, been able to assure him that we should welcome articles written by Nonconformist missionaries dealing with the organisation of missionary work and with the methods of teaching which they have been led to adopt. As the Bishop is himself one of the most advanced Churchmen in the Anglican Communion, we are specially glad to receive his support in the carrying out of this object. Our desire is to discuss problems which are raised by Mission work both in heathen countries and in the colonies, by whatever society or body of Christians the work is being carried on. The steadily increasing circulation of the Review in all parts of the English-speaking world encourages us to believe that the aim with which it was started has not been entirely unfulfilled.

WE are glad to be able to insert a further *The J.C.M.A.* article on the Junior Clergy Missionary Associations, written as a reply to one which appeared in our October issue. The writer's claims to reply to Mr. Rogers's criticisms are based upon the fact that he was himself for some time a member of the executive council of the J.C.M.A., and that he is now engaged in actual Mission work abroad. As one or two of our correspondents have misunderstood the purport of the Editorial note which appeared in a former issue, we are glad to have the opportunity of saying that we entirely agree with Mr. Andrews that it would be most undesirable to raise the entrance subscription, still more to limit the J.C.M. Associations to those who are intending to go abroad. We had not ourselves understood Mr. Rogers to advocate this latter suggestion. We have always appreciated the quiet work of study, intercession, and teaching done by earnest members of the Associations whose sphere of work is at present in England. The J.C.M.A. have, in fact, done such good work in the cause of Missions that their leaders and representatives can be fully trusted to do all that is in their power to make these Associations what they were intended by their original constitution to become.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

### THE CHINA CENTENARY MISSIONARY CONFERENCE.

APRIL 25—MAY 7, 1907.

Dear Sir,—I made bold to offer to the readers of *THE EAST AND THE WEST*, in the October number, an appeal for a practical realisation of the Union of Christendom in China ; supposing, with shame and sorrow, that such an outward visible and real reunion is not possible in Western Christendom till our Lord Himself, by the brightness of His coming and the glorious constraint of His presence, makes it an eternal reality.

In the late spring of the present year an opportunity will be afforded to the Christian churches in China to exhibit or to discuss the possibility of exhibiting before the Church and the world that they constitute after all one Church : a microcosm of the Catholic Church ; that Christ in truth is not divided—one Body, one Church.

Is this a chimerical hope ? I feel sure, at any rate, that the readers of the *EAST AND THE WEST* will be glad to read a brief account of the proposed order and business of this Conference, and to sympathise with its objects, and to assist it with their prayers.

The centenary observance dates from the year 1807, when Robert Morrison was sent out to China under the London Missionary Society. The calm and exalted courage and faith of that man are worthy of commemoration to God's glory. After indefatigable toil at home in copying out a Chinese manuscript which had been deposited in the British Museum, he followed it up by going alone to China at a time when China was shut in from the Christian world as by brazen walls. But Morrison went to his work with serene hope and courage, and for thirty-one years he laboured, tolerated only as interpreter to the East India Company, with no facilities for public preaching or public worship, toiling at two great works, superseded now by revisions, new translations, and new compilations, but noble monuments of solitary faith and

zeal, and which were the foundations of more modern work, translatatorial and scholastic.

We can never forget when commemorating the Centenary of Protestant Missions in China, that though this era may be called justly the missionary era as affecting China, yet the Church of Christ and the faith of Christians have not been entirely neglectful of this great land of Sinim.

The Nestorians arrived under Alopun in A.D. 635 from a Nestorian college in Persia. They brought with them the sacred books, "the ancient law as given by the twenty-six sages and the twenty-seven sacred books which remained when the Messiah ascended to His ancient dignity." These books were translated into Chinese in the Imperial Library. "The Scriptures were translated, the Churches were built," says the Nestorian Tablet, and Nestorian Christianity, which lived and flourished down to the thirteenth century and beyond, owed, no doubt, most of its life and success to these Sacred Books, although only in manuscript. Marco Polo, in 1278, speaks of the four Gospels as publicly honoured by Kublai Khan. The Franciscans arrived at the end of the thirteenth century under John de Monte Corvino, a missionary indeed, who translated into Mongolian at Cambalu, 1305, the New Testament and the Psalms. The Jesuits arrived under Matteo Ricci at the dawn of the seventeenth century, but Ricci was hindered from the task of translating the Scriptures by "the pressure of other matters." But from that time onward the Roman Catholic missionaries seem to have translated excerpts.

In 1636 Emanuel Diaz prepared a Commentary on the Holy Scriptures chosen in the Gospels for the Church Year, and in 1696 the Scriptures were reported as being translated in Peking.

But no version of the Bible in Chinese was ever printed and published by Christian Missions till Morrison came, although printing was known in China as early as the tenth century.

There is no Christian who would not delight to invite and welcome Roman Catholic missionaries to share in this missionary festival. Could the invitation be given? Would it in any way be accepted? The answer is, I fear, unhesitating no, and no again. Rome never changes. I have known China and worked here for nearly half a century, and came out with a high sense of almost envious awe and reverence for Roman Catholic devotion in penetrating to remotest fields and those deemed by Protestant Missions inaccessible. I was prepared to hope that, far from Rome's fountain-head of errors which have convulsed Christendom, her emissaries in China would be found to have dropped and forgotten the error and to be preaching the truth. This I still believe to be the case in some regions. But the bold and almost intensified protestations of error—for Roman Catholics are loud protestants—have made

us feel increasingly certain of the great gulf fixed between Rome and reformed Christianity. One point alone I mention with a comment of special significance. Is it Christian teaching that the Blessed Mother of the Lord is kinder than her Son, and that, therefore, prayer is made direct to her as the chief intercessor (this I have heard from the lips of a Chinese Roman Catholic)? Is it Christian that the shrine of the Lord in Roman Catholic churches is neglected, and the shrine of Mary crowded with worshippers and oppressed with candles and incense? Not one Faith, but trust in another as well as in Him. Not one Mediator, but two, and the Mother first.

All this is taught in China, and though there are other matters of faith and practice "wherein the Church of Rome hath erred," yet they may be condoned by many, and may, it is hoped, be modified. But Mariolatry makes a cleavage, gaping, impassable, between Rome and us.

I say this, for I am writing of the possible reunion of Christendom in the China which I love, and to show I trust that it is not a defect of charity, but a tenacity of loyalty to the one God and Jesus Christ whom He has sent that makes us say with tears, and yet with high resolve, no peace with Rome.

It will interest the readers of *THE EAST AND THE WEST* to know that, with the exception of the Roman Catholic Church and the Greek Church (working in Peking alone), representatives of all Missions will meet in Shanghai. The Chairman of the Executive Committee is Bishop Graves, the senior bishop in China of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America, and that Mission is very largely represented on the committee of management.

There are more than 3,000 missionaries in China at the present time, and it being impossible to accommodate and entertain such a number, even had it been advisable for all to come, elected delegates only will be present, but this means a body of more than 700 missionaries, English, American, German, and Scandinavian.

The Conference will last ten days, and besides special devotional meetings and services in the cathedral and churches, twelve main subjects of discussion will be brought forward, each subject being dealt with in a paper or speech from the chairman of each committee, he in his turn preparing a digest of the opinions of each member of his committee. This is meant to obviate endless and wandering debate. The subjects are as follows:—The Chinese Church; The Chinese Ministry; Evangelistic Work; Education; Women's Work; Christian Literature; Ancestral Worship; Medical Work; The Holy Scriptures; Comity and Federation; the Missionaries and Public Question; Memorials to be presented

to the Chinese Government, and to the Churches of the West, and to the Chinese Church.

The present writer cannot but feel intense and almost incredulous interest—it seems so beyond belief—in the picture which will be presented at this conference—the amazing growth in these hundred years, perhaps more wonderful than anything in Apostolic times, and the growth which he has seen since, in 1861, he first saw China. Full statistics will be published with care and elaboration immediately after the Conference.

In 1860 there were no inland Missions at all of non-Roman churches in China ; inland residence was forbidden, and inland travel dangerous. Now there are Missions in every one of the eighteen provinces, up to the very borders of Thibet and Burma ; far north in Manchuria, far south in Hainan.

Pray for us that the Conference may not result in mere discussion, in self-congratulation, but only and wholly and lastingly to the glory of our one Lord and the good of His Church.

ARTHUR E. MOULE,  
Archdeacon in Mid-China.

#### THE SCOPE OF "THE EAST AND THE WEST"

Dear Sir,—I have only just discovered that an attempt is being made by some very good men, for whom I have the greatest respect, to make THE EAST AND THE WEST less useful to us missionaries.

We do not want a magazine which will only repeat what we can read in Butler, and Harold Browne, and such text-books. New theories are being advanced, and it is very important that we should know something about them. We have not the money to buy all the new books on such matters as the higher criticism, or to take in a large number of different magazines. We do not look upon THE EAST AND THE WEST as a book of which every word must be believed, and if possible taught to our people ; we have learnt much from it with which we have decided that we could not agree, and the thinking over the matter has enabled us to clear our formerly somewhat hazy ideas. The conclusion to which we have come on these matters may possibly be wrong, for we do not claim infallibility ourselves, any more than we are prepared to hold that it is to be found in the pages of THE EAST AND THE WEST ; but we feel that we are better men for having faced these questions, and thought them out to the best of our ability. I venture to hope that, so far from confining the Review to articles of unimpeachable orthodoxy, you will open it still more

widely to the expression of opinions with which you would not wish us to agree.

If I might venture to make a suggestion from the point of view of a working missionary, we should find very valuable a series of articles setting forward the position of some of the various denominations of Christians who are engaged in Mission work. It would do us good to hear or read the point of view taken by the Congregationalists, or the Dutch Reformed, or the Baptists, with regard to the organisation of native churches; or the position of the sacraments in the scheme of teaching. Of course, no one would suppose that we were all going to agree with everything put forward, or that we were going to teach our people these things, but it would help us to get clearer ideas. To my mind the same applies to these questions of higher criticism; we ought to know what is being said and thought, if only that we may be prepared to give an answer if our people ask us about these things.

I have myself been asked by African natives about various Bible difficulties: Some occur to them when reading the Bible themselves, some are suggested to them by sceptical white men.

I venture therefore to beg of you to put this other side of the matter before those who are responsible for THE EAST AND THE WEST, and if you modify it so as to exclude any unusual ideas, start another Review for the benefit of us missionaries.

W. EDMUND LEBOMBO.

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### HINDUISM AND BHAKTI.

SIR,—The Rev. E. S. Oakley has done me the honour of referring to my article in the April number of THE EAST AND THE WEST. He is of the opinion that the idea of *bhakti* in India is not derived from Christianity. He moreover suggests that some people are of opinion that Indian missionaries are ignorant of what *bhakti* is. The latter is a statement for which I, for one, must disclaim all responsibility, but Mr. Oakley will, I am sure, pardon me for pointing out that the account which he gives of the ground principles of *bhakti* is far from being accurate. He seems to base his statements on Wilson's *Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus*. No one has a profounder regard for that great scholar than the present writer, but it should not be forgotten that his *sketch* was written nearly eighty years ago, and that his materials were scanty, written in a difficult language, and only available in manuscript. Since then the study of the Indian vernaculars has made great progress. Texts have been



printed and can be bought for a few annas in the bazaar of any large Indian city, and a very slight study of these ought to enable anyone to satisfy himself as to where Wilson was misled. Moreover, the great work of the founder of modern Vaishnava *bhakti*, Rāmānuja, was in his day practically unknown. Since then it has been translated by Dr. Thibaut for *The Sacred Books of the East*. Even if the inquirer cannot read Sanskrit and Hindi, or even if he feels himself too busy to read this translation, he can peruse Dr. Thibaut's luminous introduction, in which the main points of the Vaishnava doctrine are elucidated with a clearness and scientific accuracy that leaves nothing to be desired.

I must confess that Mr. Oakley has not convinced me that I am wrong in maintaining the Christian origin of *bhakti*. That, as he maintains, it is essentially the same as the Deism of the Persian Sufis may or may not be the fact, for it is well-known that much of this too was borrowed from Christianity ; but that it is *derived* from Sufism cannot be the case unless it can be proved that Persia is a part of Southern India. The first teachers of Vaishnava *bhakti* belonged to the South. The founder, Rāmānuja was born and was educated within a few miles of the Shrine of St. Thomas near the present Madras, where a mixed worship was carried on, partly Christian and partly Hindu. Vaishnava *bhakti* was established for two centuries in Southern India before Rāmānanda (the teacher of the Kabīr mentioned by Mr. Oakley) introduced it into northern India. And, *pace* Mr. Oakley, where the doctrine differs from that of Sanskrit orthodoxy, it agrees in its teaching (always, of course, excepting the acknowledgment of the person of our Master) with Christianity.

In dealing with what *bhakti* is it is only safe to quote the writings of the founders of the doctrine, or of their professed followers, not those of modern eclectic reformers, like Vivēkānanda (quoted by Mr. Oakley), who are no more authoritative as regards the teaching of men like Rāmānuja, Rāmānanda, Kabīr, or Tulasī Dāsa than (to quote Mr. Oakley again) the teaching of Mrs. Eddy or of the *Christian Herald* is authoritative as regards Christianity. It would take up too much space to discuss all Mr. Oakley's statements regarding *bhakti* and to discuss them one by one—I regret that I can agree with few of them. I therefore take only one statement—the most important. He maintains that salvation by *bhakti* means that the worshipper is “finally absorbed into the essence of the god.” On this he bases a great part of his argument. I admit that in a few insignificant sects there are traces of this belief, which has, of course, been borrowed from Vēdāntic Pantheism. But it is not the Vaishnava *bhakti* doctrine, and is, indeed, radically opposed to the teaching of its founder, Rāmānuja. Here is what Rāmānuja himself taught about it, as

explained by Dr. Thibaut.<sup>1</sup> "He who, assisted by the grace of the Lord, cognises—and meditates on—him in the way prescribed by the Upanishads reaches at his death final emancipation, *i.e.* he passes through the different stages of the path of the gods up to the world of Brahman, and there enjoys an everlasting blissful existence from which there is no return into the sphere of transmigration. The characteristics of the released soul are similar to those of Brahman . . . Rāmānuja's Brahman is essentially a personal God—the all-powerful and all-wise ruler of a real world permeated and animated by His Spirit. . . . The individual soul is really individual; it has indeed sprung from Brahman, and is never outside Brahman, but, nevertheless, it enjoys a separate personal existence, and will remain a personality for ever. The release from *samsāra* . . . only means the soul's passing from the troubles of earthly life into a kind of heaven or paradise where it will remain for ever in undisturbed personal bliss."

Where is there any talk of "absorption" here? Where is "the becoming part of a subordinate deity who is nearer to the great goal than the individual soul can be"? Where is "the separate drop falling into the river," and hoping "to be carried along with its mightier current into the Ocean of pure being or nothingness"?

If Mr. Oakley will read, say, the chapter on *mukṭi* in the *Bhaktamāla Kalpadruma*, a modern Hindi version of the famous *Bhaktamāla*, he will find much that is interesting, and will gain assurance that all this teaching of Rāmānuja is adopted in every *bhakti*-religion of importance.

The definition of *bhakti*, quoted from Wilson, as "implicit reliance on the power of the Deity worshipped," is not correct. The correct definition must be that given in the *Bhakti-Sūtras* of Śaṇḍilya. This is, I quote the original, *Sā parānuraktir Isvarē : tat-samsthāyāmrītatvōpadēśāt*—"In its highest form it is an affection fixed upon the Lord : from the promise of immortality to him who abides in Him." Incidentally, I may point out that the word *Isvara*, "Lord," employed to designate the *personal* Deity, is exactly equivalent in literal meaning to the Septuagint and New Testament *Kύριος*.

All this is radically different from the Vēdāntic Pantheism of Sankara which Mr. Oakley has described, and cannot be derived from it. It was, as a matter of history, a protest against that Pantheism, and, where it differs from it, it agrees with Christianity.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

<sup>1</sup> *Vēdāntasūtras*, I, xxix. ff.

## REVIEWS.

*The Life of Isabella Bird (Mrs. Bishop).* By A. M. Stoddart with Maps and illustrations. 416 pp. Published by Murray. Price 18s.

"MY interest in all things is vivid to a degree." These words, uttered during the course of her long protracted and final illness, in part explain the response which Mrs. Bishop's books and speeches have never failed to elicit during a period of nearly fifty years. Her life affords an illustration of the truth of the saying that the best work in the world is done by invalids. Mrs. Bishop hardly ever knew what it was to feel well, and for nearly fifty years, during which all her travelling was done, she was a confirmed invalid. Her story may serve to encourage some who are tempted to imagine that the possession of robust or even of ordinary health is a necessary qualification for the accomplishment of arduous and useful work. For the student of Missions, the interest connected with Mrs. Bishop's books and speeches is greatly enhanced by the fact that in the course of her early travels she shared the prejudice against Missions which is common to so many travellers, and would even go out of her way in order to avoid coming into contact with them. It was, as she was never tired of telling to successive audiences, her observation of the spiritual, moral and social wants of the peoples amongst whom she travelled, which Buddhism and Mohammedanism had failed to supply, that forced her to study the attempts to alleviate these wants which were being made by Christian missionaries; it was the study and observation of missionary work which induced her to become the enthusiastic supporter of Missions and to devote the latter part of her life to their advocacy. The following incident which occurred in the course of her visit to the upper reaches of the Yangtze River will help to explain the ground on which her advocacy of Missions was based.

"After going up the Yangtze, and travelling by land several hundred miles, I went beyond China proper into the country of the Man-tze. When I reached the mountains, there was a mountain pass, and a great storm came on. The torrent I had to pass was swollen and it was impossible to cross it. There was no inn in the village and it was very poor. My servant succeeded in getting shelter for me from the rain, which was falling in torrents, and I slept there in a shed for one night. He came back presently and said, 'There are Christians in this village, Mrs. Bishop.' You know how faithless and unbelieving one is; and I said, 'Christians!

nonsense ! No Europeans have ever been here, far less missionaries. He looked rather sulky as he went out of the shed, but came back after a time and said, 'There are Christians here, and it is a Christian village ; and the head man and the elders are coming to see you presently.' And they came, and were very anxious to find out if I were a Christian. . . . However, I satisfied them by showing my Bible. My servant was a Christian too. And they stayed for an hour and a half : and the story that one of them told was among the most interesting I ever heard.

"The man was a carpenter ; he had worked for three months in Sze-Chuan in the house of a missionary, and had a copy of the Gospels given to him when he went away. He had also had a certain amount of instruction from the catechist who was with the missionary. After the instruction given him by the catechist, he went to his own home several hundred miles further west, and took the Gospels with him. He gathered the men together every evening, and read the Gospels aloud. There was a fulfilment of the promise 'The idols He shall utterly abolish,' for many of the idols of that village had been destroyed owing to the reading of the simple Word. There were only a few men in the whole village who were not in deed and truth Christians, and my servant, who was a very shrewd man, remarked how different that village was from others—that there was no attempt to cheat and take advantage ; and he said that he did not think he had been told one lie."

As an impartial critic of missionary methods her advice was constantly sought by the representatives of different missionary societies. One of these, Mrs. E. Bickersteth, writes to the editor of this book : "When we had the pleasure of welcoming Mrs. Bishop to our S.P.G. Women's Committee as a vice-president, it interested me much to see the way in which she turned to uses of practical help and counsel the knowledge she had gained in her many years of travel. When in London she was a constant attendant at our meetings, and she took special delight in those of our Candidates' committee, where her insight into character and ready sympathy gave her special power. More than one candidate has been surprised to learn that the gentle quiet voice which gave her homely hints as to care of health, or sympathetic encouragement in her shyness, was that of the great traveller and distinguished authoress." Her intimate knowledge of China and the Chinese character gave her the right to express an opinion on the much debated question whether unmarried English ladies ought to be sent as missionaries to the interior of China. She "did not agree with the critics of the treaty ports who think it unwise for English women to live at remote stations where there are no English men. On the contrary, she thought that two women, not under thirty years of age, who had experience of Chinese customs and language, might wisely

and safely occupy a station where there were no other Europeans, provided that they always had with them a senior Chinese woman." On the other hand, she spoke most strongly of the unwisdom of supporting missionaries in the interior of China whose large families rendered it impossible for them to devote more than a small portion of their time to the study of the language or the prosecution of missionary work. There are many other questions relating to missionary work, and to women's work in particular, on which the opinions which Mrs. Bishop had formed will be of interest to missionary students. We can recommend the volume both to those who are already familiar with her books and to those to whom they are as yet unknown.

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*Eastern Missions from a Soldier's Standpoint.* By Colonel G. K. Scott Moncrieff, C.I.E. Published by the Religious Tract Society. 181 pp. Price 2s.

THE writer is a soldier who has seen service in Afghanistan and India, and was in command of the Engineers at the relief of the Peking Legations in 1900. The opinions which the writer expresses on the missionary work which is being done in India and China deserve attention, as he has taken great pains to gather his information directly from the natives themselves. He speaks in the warmest terms of the missionaries and the Chinese Christians with whom he came into contact in Peking. Speaking as a soldier, he says that without the help of the native Christians the Legations could not have been held. "The native Christians had been rescued during the last few days that preceded the siege by the heroic exertions of English and Americans. Some indeed suffered death by torture, not accepting deliverance. Most, if not all, could have purchased life by recanting . . . Those who think that the conversion of the Chinese to Christianity is entirely governed by interested motives will please remember that these men who fought and worked so well in defence of the foreign Legations might have saved themselves all the trouble by burning a little incense before an idol." The book ends with an urgent appeal for additional support for the Missions in the Far East.

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*The Jews in India and the Far East.* By the Rev. J. Henry Lord, Missionary in Bombay, 1882-1907. 120 pp. and appendices. Published in Bombay. Price 1 rupee. Obtainable from the A.C.S. Office, 39 Victoria Street, Westminster.

To those who are interested in the Jewish race and their dispersion throughout the world, the results of historical research and local investigation concerning the history and customs of the

communities of Jewish origin in India briefly recorded in this booklet will prove both interesting and valuable. Some of the Jewish communities now found in India have been there from the time of the Christian era. Many of the customs which are still preserved by them have long since disappeared amongst the Jews who are settled in Europe. The use of incense, the observance of the Nazirite's vow, the cup of blessing, and the kiss of peace are still found. This last custom is also found among the Syrian Christians of Malabar and amongst the Assyrian Christians. There is a community of black Jews in Malabar who are apparently the descendants of Jews who had married natives of India. Such a marriage would not have been a violation of ancient Jewish law. The writer gives in an appendix a glossary of the principal books which have been published dealing with the Jews of India, which will be helpful to anyone who desires to study the subject for himself.

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*Miftahul Quran.* Part I. *Concordance of the Quran.* By Rev. Ahmad Shah. Printed by Lazarus & Co., Benares. Price twelve rupees. Part II. *A Complete Glossary of the Quran.* Price eight rupees.

THIS work should be of great use to all missionaries to Mohammedans. The contents of the Koran are so entirely lacking in any kind of order that it is most difficult to find a passage with which one is familiar, and the reference to which one has lost. Flugel's concordance, which has so far been the only one available, presupposes an accurate knowledge of Arabic, as all derivatives are classified under the roots from which they are derived. We trust that the publication of these volumes may encourage Christian missionaries working amongst Mohammedans to attempt a more careful study of the Koran than has often been considered necessary.

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*Four Years in Tibet.* By Rev. Ahmad Shah. Published by Lazarus & Co. Benares. Price three rupees.

THE writer travelled in Tibet between 1894 and 1897. The book contains a good deal of curious information relating to the customs of the Tibetans.

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*Caste or Christ: Sketches of Indian Life.* By J. Z. Hodge and G. E. Hicks. 127 pp. Published by Morgan & Scott. Price 1s. 6d.

THESE sketches, which are attractively illustrated, deal with work which is being carried on in Behar by missionaries sent out by Dr. Guinness.

*The Quran in Islam*, an enquiry into the integrity of the Quran by the Rev. W. Goldsack. Published by the Christian Literature Society. Price 1 anna.

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*The Doctrine of Salvation as set forth in Christianity, Hinduism, and Islam.* By the Rev. W. Hooper. 138 pp. Published by the Christian Literature Society, London and Madras. Price 6d.

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*Training in Kashmir.* An illustrated description of the C.M.S. Boys' High School conducted by the Rev. C. Tyndale Biscoe. Published by the C.M.S. Price 1s.

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*The Story of the Central Asian Pioneer Mission.* With a Preface by the Rev. F. B. Meyer. 45 pp. Published by Morgan & Scott. Price 1s.

AN account of an attempt which is being made to establish a mission at Hoti Mardan, on the borders of India and Kafiristan. The mission is not connected with any existing missionary society.

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*Amitabha, a story of Buddhist theology*, by Dr. Paul Carus. 121 pp. Price 2s. 6d. Published by Kegan Paul.

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*The Moslem Peril.* By W. R. Jones. With Introductory Note by Bishop Stuart, now resident in Persia. Pp. 16. Price 3d.

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*The Church Quarterly Review* for January contains an article entitled "The Real Yellow Peril." The writer, who has had long personal experience in China, argues that the Yellow Peril is by no means imaginary—as far, at any rate, as Russia is concerned—but that the real Yellow Peril is not China, but heathen China. The policy of those who desire to promote the interests of the Chinese, and good feeling between them and European races, should be "so to increase their efforts on wiser lines, with larger plans, that through them there may arise that national Church of China which shall be, in God's good providence, the means of averting for ever the real Yellow Peril."

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*A Modern Pentecost: being the story of the Revival among the Aborigines of South-west China.* 42 pp. Published by the China Inland Mission. Price 3d.

*The Pacific Islanders : from Savages to Saints.* Edited by D. C. Pierson. Published by Funk & Wagnalls. London. 352 pp. Price 1 dollar.

THIS consists of seventeen brightly-written and well-illustrated sketches, chiefly contributed by American writers, descriptive of missionary work carried on during the last half-century in the Pacific Islands and in New Guinea, the Philippines, and Australia. Several of the articles would do well for reading aloud at missionary working parties. The progress which has been made in developing interest in foreign missions during the last century is illustrated by a quotation which is given from Captain Cook's journals. In 1777 he wrote in reference to a proposal to start missionary work in the Pacific Islands: "It is very unlikely that any measure of this kind should ever be seriously thought of, as it can neither serve the purpose of public ambition nor private avarice, and without such inducements I may pronounce that it will never be undertaken." The writer, who deals with missionary work amongst the Australian aborigines, has apparently never heard of the various missions to the aboriginals, carried on by the Anglican Church in Australia, such as that described in our present issue by the Archbishop of Brisbane.

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*A Question of Colour : a Study of South Africa.* 328 pp. Published by W. Blackwood.

THIS book is founded on the recently issued Government Blue Book relating to native affairs in South Africa, and should serve to make the contents of this important Blue Book more widely known. It discusses in an interesting way many of the problems raised by the report. We can commend the book to those who desire a simple exposition of the difficulties which confront Government officials and missionaries alike in South Africa. The writer, who is in no way connected with missionary work, bears strong testimony to the good work which is being done by missions.

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*Second Report of the Wellcome Research Laboratories at the Gordon Memorial College, Khartoum.* 255 pp. Issued by the Department of Education, Sudan Government.

THE primary object for which these research laboratories have been established is "to promote the study, bacteriologically and physiologically, of tropical disorders, especially the infective diseases of both man and beast peculiar to the Sudan, and to render assistance to the officers of health, and to the clinics of the civil and military hospitals." The present volume contains the record of a



large number of investigations which have been carried on during the past two years of diseases caused by mosquitoes and the tsetse and other flies. To the technical and medical student the book should be of considerable value.

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*The Congo Independent State*: a report on a voyage of enquiry.  
By Viscount Mountmorres. 166 pp. Published by Williams  
& Norgate. Price 6s. net.

THIS book, which is well illustrated, contains a large amount of information in regard to the different tribes inhabiting the Congo State, besides a good deal of intelligent criticism on the Congo State Government. The writer distinguishes between "the concession districts and the districts governed directly by the Congo Government officials." Of the former he says "no words can convey an adequate impression of the terrible and callous inhumanity which marks the methods of the territorial companies, nor of the abject misery and hopelessness of the native population." Of the Congo Government he speaks in much more favourable terms.

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*Camp Firelight: or Memories of Flood and Forest.* Poems by  
Wm. Ridley, first Bishop of Caledonia. 116 pp. Published  
by Seeley.

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*Readings from Law's "Serious Call."* With an introduction by the  
Bishop of London. 112 pp. Published by Longmans. Price  
1s. 6d. in cloth, 1s. in paper.

WE cordially welcome the publication of this book in a form which should secure for it the circulation which it deserves and which it had before it was ousted by ephemeral rivals. "There is no doubt," says the Bishop of London, "that Law's *Serious Call* is one of the books of the world which will live. The first characteristic which marks it off from many other good books is that it is so extremely entertaining. The belief is graven into the minds of most people, as it was in the mind of Dr. Johnson, that a good book may be very improving, but is sure to be rather dull. It is only a dull mind that will find Law dull."

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*The Fifth Gospel*: being the Pauline interpretation of the Christ.  
By the Author of *The Faith of a Christian*. 223 pp. Published  
by Macmillan.

*Pan-Anglican Papers*, being problems for consideration at the Pan-Anglican Congress in 1908. 1. "The Church and Human Society," by the Rev. T. C. Fry and the Rev. E. J. Palmer. 2. "The Church and Human Thought in the Present Day," by the Rev. J. R. Illingworth. 3. "The Church's Ministry," by Archdeacon Burrows. 4. "The Church's Work among non-Christian Peoples," by Eugene Stock. 5. "The Church's Mission in Christendom," by Bishop Montgomery. These papers are published by the S.P.C.K.

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*Judaism and Christianity, Short Studies* : 5. *Religion a permanent Need of Human Nature*. By the Rev. W. O. Oesterley. Published by Longmans. Price 3d.

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*The Sanctuary of Suffering*. By Eleanor Tee. New Edition. 219 pp. Published by Longmans. Price 3s. 6d. net.

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*The Atonement*. By the Rev. Leighton Pullan. 257 pp.  
*Sin*. By the Rev. H. V. S. Eck, Rector of Bethnal Green. 241 pp.  
 THESE are two additional volumes in the series entitled "Oxford Library of Practical Devotion," published by Longmans. Price 5s. each.

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*The Church and the Saints*. Sermons by the Rev. W. B. Hankey. 193 pp. Published by Longmans. Price 3s. 6d. net.

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*The Indian Interpreter*, a religious and ethical Quarterly. Published by the Scottish Mission, Poona. 48 pp. Price in Great Britain, 1s. 4d.

WE have received a specimen number of this review, which is well written, and will, we trust, obtain a large circulation amongst Indian Christians.

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*The Truth of Christianity*. Being an examination of the more important arguments for and against believing in that religion. Compiled by Lieut.-Colonel W. H. Turton. Sixth edition. Published by Wells Gardner.

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*Henry Reed*. By his Widow. With a Preface by "General" Booth. 249 pp. Published by Morgan & Scott. Price 2s. 6d.

*Modern London : its Sins and Woes, and the Sovereign Remedy.*

By James Dunn. 186 pp. Published by the London City Mission.

MR. DUNN has been working for fifty years amongst the poor in London, during the latter part of which time he has been connected with the London City Mission.

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*The Self-interpretation of Jesus Christ : a study of the Messianic consciousness as reflected in the Synoptics.* 211 pp. Published by Hodder & Stoughton. Price 5s.

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*Public Worship in the Book of Common Prayer.* By the Rev. C. R. D. Biggs. 202 pp. Published by Longmans. Price 2s. 6d.

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*The Church and the Ordination Question : a discussion of certain fresh points, especially as to the selection of candidates and the methods of clerical education.* By the Rev. Herbert Kelly, Director of the Society of the Sacred Mission. 32 pp. Issued at the S.S.M. Press, Kelham. Price 3d.

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*Ripon Diocesan Church Calendar.* Published by Jackson, Leeds. Price 1s.

WE are glad to see the prominence given in the Calendar to the "missionary clergy on foreign or colonial service" who formerly served in the diocese and are regarded as still members of its staff. The Calendar contains a good coloured map of the diocese.

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We have received the following from the S.P.C.K. :—*Dutch Handbook for Communicants*, 4d. ; *Gang First Catechism*, 1d. ; *Kaffir Prayer Book*, new edition, 1s. 4d. ; *Luganda Old Testament History*, 1s. ; *Luganda Old Testament History* (Pentateuch portion), 4d. ; *Xosa Communion Book*, new edition, 8d. ; *Zigula Exercises*, 1s. 4d. ; *Zigula Dictionary*, 2s.

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N.B.—Bound volumes of THE EAST AND THE WEST, 1903-6, with indices and tables of contents, price 4s. 6d., post free 4s. 11d.

# The East and The West

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JULY 1907

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## FEMALE EDUCATION IN ASIA

WE have sometimes found one word suffice, by way of answer to cavillers in Europe and America, about the work of Christian Missions in the East: "What has Christianity or its Missionaries done for Asia—for India, China, Burma, Ceylon, etc.?" Our one word in reply has often been Woman. In what condition were the women of the Hindus, Buddhists, Confucian Chinese or even of the Mohammedans, before the advent of Christian Missions? And to what are the instruction, enlightenment, freedom from many terrible burdens (in India) and uplifting of a host of women due, if not to the influence of Christianity and its teachers? But if so much has been done as to render this department of itself an answer to bitter critics, how enormous is the amount and extent of ignorance among the female portion of the population which has still to be dispelled by instruction!

It is matter for great regret now that within the past thirty years at least the various Missions did not endeavour to keep their schools and work for girls as nearly as possible on a par with those for boys; and that Government, as well as Missionaries and all other educating agents in India, Burma, and Ceylon (as well as in China and the Further East) have not done a great deal more to increase the number of girl scholars. In all India, we

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NOTE.—Readers of this Review are reminded that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, under whose auspices it is published, is not prepared to endorse the particular views expressed by the several contributors to its pages.

believe, there are about five million boys under instruction; but we doubt if the number of girls is much above half a million, or only one girl to every ten boys. In the case of Ceylon, the proportion is better—about one girl to every four or five boys in the Government schools; and we know it is a good deal better for grant-in-aid, Christian Mission and independent agencies. But even then, how great is the leeway which has to be made up! And if we realise the special influence of the sister, of the wife, and particularly of the mother, on the home and on the rising generation, surely we may well be inclined to think that attention to the instruction of the sisters in a family should, on the part of Mission agents especially, have come even before the attention given to the boys and brothers. In this direction, as in some others, have not we Protestants to learn a lesson from our Roman Catholic brethen? The latter have been, we believe, nearly as zealous in establishing convent schools as boys' schools and colleges wherever they have work in the East, having found by long experience that the family so often follow the religion of the mother who as a girl has been early watched over and trained.

It is especially through Christian boarding schools for girls that, in our opinion, the most notable work has yet to be done in India, Ceylon, Burma, China, etc. So long ago as 1864, writing in a London periodical, we stated that in our visits with Missionaries to jungle villages, in Ceylon, the home or village "hut" occupied by an ex-Mission school-girl could readily be distinguished from that of a heathen girl, by greater signs of comfort and cleanliness, and never yet in forty-five years' observation of Missions have we heard of a girls' boarding school that failed in its purpose. The training there given by the European Christian lady and her assistants—in household habits, in sewing and other useful work, in personal training and Bible lessons apart from ordinary school tuition—has in our opinion a far greater effect in building up and establishing character than any other agency employed by Missions. We scarcely think that, even in boys' boarding schools, principal and pupils can be drawn so closely together, or that the influence can be so deep and

permanent, as between the girls and their lady-superior. The Church Missionary Society had a striking experience in the Kandyan country of Ceylon of the futility of trying to influence and win a people by educating the boys, while forgetting or neglecting the girls. They got the sons of many of the chiefs into Trinity College, where a Christian education was imparted, and some of the pupils at least appeared to be convinced Christians; but when they married and settled down in their several districts, the Buddhist temple and worship resumed their sway; and the explanation given by certain of them to their old principal on revisiting Ceylon, was that their wives were necessarily Buddhists—nothing having been done to teach the girls—and there could be only one result in the homes if peace and comfort were to be maintained! The great mistake has since been remedied by a school for the daughters of the Kandyan chiefs having been opened by the Mission, and as it is freely attended in Kandy, the best results may be anticipated. But, as we have said, we want to see the number of girls under instruction, and especially the number of boarding schools for them, greatly increased as well in India as in China. It might be deemed a hard saying, but there is much to justify it if we were to advance the argument, that no more boys' schools should be opened by any Mission agency in Asia until it has overtaken the neglected girls and shown as many of the latter as of boys in its schools. This will mean a vast increase in the number of lady agents from home for India, China, Ceylon, etc.; but the United Empire, United States of America, and certain other European States should supply them all, and there is the great encouragement (in Ceylon at least) *that the cost per head in a girls' boarding school is only about one-third what it is for boys*. Let Mission secretaries and committees at home take note of that fact, and we think they will find in it some further encouragement for them to turn their special attention to female education for the next ten or twelve years. In fact, if the wish be to multiply a thousand-fold the number of Christian homes in the East during the current generation, we would say let a proportionate increase be made in the number of boarding schools and gather in the girls.

There is, in our opinion, no training for character—the all-important matter—equal to that given in the boarding school through the example and direct influence of the European lady principal. But anything is better than blank ignorance. We do not plead for a big or expensive course. The “three R’s” in the vernacular, teaching in sewing, in cooking, in absolute personal cleanliness and improved household ways, with Christian instruction in the Scriptures, will suffice. Would that at this time a millionaire could be induced to cover the blanks in India, Burma, Ceylon (and China) with girls’ boarding schools!—giving their direction and supervision to Christian ladies of the various Missions.

But it is not to Missionary agencies alone that we appeal in the cause of a great advance in female education in the East. We trust that the Governments of India, Ceylon, and China will awake to the national importance of educating and enlightening the girls who are to be the future wives and mothers of the people. The question has a great political significance. We cannot help thinking there would not during the past year have been nearly so much unrest and agitation in Bengal and other parts of India if the present wives and mothers in the homes had been instructed during the previous generation. In this connection we may say that we have hailed with satisfaction every evidence afforded by Buddhists and Hindoos in Ceylon and India of an awakening interest to the importance of education, even when it has taken the form of opposition to Missions or other Christian schools, and, as is so often the case, their teachers are ex-pupils of Missionaries. Anything is better than ignorance and blank indifference. Theosophists and so-called European and American “Buddhists” have tried their best to stir up the Singalese and Burmese, and in some cases the people of India (in Madras, Calcutta, and Benares) to found educational institutions in opposition to those of the Christian Missionaries and even to those of Government. In my opinion all such movements are to be welcomed. Anything is better than stagnation and ignorance, and present-day teaching in almost any form must tend to dissipate superstition and to sap and undermine

the strongholds of caste. In Ceylon we have had some curious experiences of the results of an independent native educational movement under Theosophist and Buddhist auspices. A girls' boarding and day Buddhist school was founded under a lady principal from abroad, and much useful work was the result ; but before long a demand was made that the school should be confined to the daughters of high-caste families ; although, as a rule, "caste" is not nearly such a trouble or so strictly observed in Ceylon as in India. This was refused, and as a consequence pupils were withdrawn and a new school started. The older institution got into very low water thereafter, and one day a missionary from India visiting Colombo, who dropped in to see what kind of school it was, was surprised to hear the middle-aged lady (a professed Buddhist) in charge using language that might have come from the lips of George Muller of Bristol, how she and her girls depended on the gifts of kind friends, how often they were in sad straits ; but somehow, day by day, their requirements were met and they continued in the hope of a good time coming. Since then, this school has had generous friends from among the Singalese of the class whom it serves, and has prospered, and there can be no doubt of the benefits it confers, both in industrial and mental instruction, even though direct Christian teaching is wanting. When one thinks that the Buddhist monks even in their palmiest days in Ceylon scarcely ever dreamed of such a thing as female education—a "monk" or "priest" indeed being forbidden to look on the face of a woman—and that a boys' school attached to each monastery was all that could be offered to their people—and how even such poor teaching had fallen into desuetude over large districts in the past century, one can truly welcome the change in this method although as yet only a beginning has been effected. "Educate the girls! one might as well think of teaching cattle," fairly expresses a thought common to both the natives of India and Ceylon up to a short time ago, and one indeed prevalent in many large districts still ; while in others the feeling is that, although the daughters are capable of being taught as well as the boys, education will only make the former careless of their household



duties and less useful wives. The most prejudiced, however, cannot but see how entirely this is belied by the pupils turned out of Christian Mission girls' boarding schools, where special attention is given to training in household duties, native housewifery, cleaning, cooking, sewing and often gardening, as well as book lessons. The pioneers in this branch in Ceylon—we may almost say in the East generally—were devoted agents of the American Board of Foreign Missions who settled in the Jaffna Peninsula (North Ceylon) as well as in the opposite Tamil district (Madura) of the Continent of India. Their first girls' school was commenced in 1824, and the start has been attributed to the accident of a thunderstorm which kept two little Tamil lassies for long hours in a missionary's house till hunger drove one of them to accept the offered food and drink. "What could an orthodox Hindu father do with such a caste-breaking child"—asks the narrator of the story—"but bring her to the house where she had dishonoured his family and give her to the interfering foreigner?" (More particularly, as female children were of little account and a burden, as each required a dowry in view of the indispensable caste marriage.) It was found that other such children were brought to the missionaries at other stations and so they were all gathered together and a Union boarding school was begun. Married missionaries for sixteen years took charge; but in 1840, the first unmarried woman who ever came to the East (we believe) for Mission work, Miss Eliza Agnew, came to the Uduvil School, and its uninterrupted history for forty years, till she died at her post in 1880, is largely the story of one consecrated woman's mighty influence for God in a heathen land. The following year (1881) a like-named successor arrived and, with various lady-helpers from time to time, she continues to this day as Principal. The wonderful amount of good done by this one school may be taken as an illustration of what can be effected in any part of the East through the medium of girls' boarding schools conducted by devoted Christian ladies from Europe or America. The opposition and indifference often shown to the missionary in his preaching and teaching are reduced to a minimum in the case of the

“mem-sahibs” who watch over and give the girls so many little but wonderful accomplishments (in the eyes of native parents) and albeit turn them out so well-behaved and modest. Even though they knew well that every honest effort would be used to bring the girls to know, love and obey Jesus Christ, yet again and again have Hindu fathers brought their daughters and begged that they might be taken and taught; and hundreds of the girls have openly professed Christianity while in the school; and while some in their after lives have gone back, many are known to have continued faithful ever since to their profession. In 1884 the training of women teachers—now such an important branch of work all over India and the East—was taken up and has been carried on successfully ever since; and the latest report of the above school testifies: “Many of the teachers in training have been a positive inspiration in their enthusiasm. Thirty-four have received certificates from the Department of Public Instruction. Hundreds of wives and mothers in North Ceylon will tell you that their happiest days were spent in Uduvil School.” The attendance now is from 150 to 180 girls. I have thought it right to dwell on this pioneer school dating back 84 years; but of late years it can be paralleled in all the Christian Missions occupying towns and districts in India, Burma, Ceylon, and by not a few in China and other parts of Asia. Still there is a distinct call and urgent need to have such schools multiplied a thousand-fold; and no higher, nobler or more truly happy work can be engaged in by any consecrated Christian lady. In looking back, the marvel is that British and American Mission committees did not more fully recognise their responsibility for, and the great advantage of promoting, girls’ schools *pari passu* with those for boys long, long ago. For Christian friends and keen observers in the East had frequently, forty, fifty and more years ago, recognised and pointed out the urgent need. Thus, Chief Justice Sir Anthony Oliphant (an earnest Christian and friend of Missions) well nigh seventy years ago, in Ceylon, declared:

“A work of more thorough benevolence than that of instructing the female mind throughout the teeming regions of the East could

scarcely be conceived. Acts of ordinary charity extended seldom beyond the object relieved ; these endured, and spread a salutary and ever-increasing influence from generation to generation ; for often had it been justly observed that few men of eminence had arisen whose mothers had not been either persons of superior endowments, or of strong natural powers of understanding. Thus it was, in a great measure, that female education and general civilisation went hand in hand."

Sir Emerson Tennant, in his "Christianity in Ceylon," published over fifty years ago, states :

"As a portion of that social policy which condemns the women of India to a position of submissive inferiority and domestic toil, there exists an active hostility to the education of females, as tending to disturb their relative position in society, and to destroy their feeling of passive subordination to the other sex. So universally prevailing is this sentiment that when the Americans first opened their female schools, reading and writing were sciences unknown to the female population of Jaffna ; and it is doubtful whether there could have been found in the peninsula a woman of any rank who knew the letters of the Tamil alphabet."

From a manuscript account by the late Rev. J. O'Neil, of the Church of England Mission at Jaffna, we quote :

"So long as the Tamil woman is uneducated she will be the slave that she has been for ages. If she is not brought under that influence of training which the boarding-schools alone can supply the current evils of popular idolatry will be cherished by her ; and should she ever become Christian her Christianity will be of a mixed and meagre description."

Another observer (a layman), resident for forty years in the East—the late James Steuart, Esq., Master Attendant of Colombo—wrote :

"Education is the means mainly depended on for the spread of Christianity among the rising generation, particularly by its infusion through the medium of female schools."

Finally we have an Anglo-Indian political and social reformer like Mr. A. O. Hume writing to his Hindu priest, Mr. B. M. Malabari :

"Political reformers of all shades of opinion should never forget that unless the elevation of the female element of the nation proceeds *pari passu* with their work, all their labour for the political enfranchisement of the country will prove vain."

This last may be regarded as putting the matter on a low ground ; but it is very remarkable how even bitter opponents of Christianity among the young men of India and Ceylon, and, it may be, strong upholders of caste, refuse any longer to be mated with ignorant, uneducated wives. To gather in the little daughters of India, China, and of Asia as a whole into boarding schools under the management of educated, devoted Christian ladies is a duty which ought to be placed in the very forefront by all Mission directors and Churches throughout the British Empire, America, and the Continent of Europe.

J. FERGUSON.

## THE GROWTH OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE EARLY CENTURIES AND IN INDIA TO- DAY: A COMPARISON AND CONTRAST.

EVERY student of Church history is aware that many of the problems that are being faced to-day in India are by no means as new as many imagine them to be, and were encountered, and to some extent solved, many centuries ago. It cannot be maintained, indeed, that they were always rightly solved, or that every precedent of the early centuries is to be accepted as final and to be followed blindly. But we can be warned by the errors of those who lived in the early centuries, which were often grievous, as well as guided by their wisdom, while at the same time we can have our faith strengthened by the spectacle of their faith and of the victory that crowned it in the end.

There are, of course, very great differences which confront us at the outset between the task of the Christian Church in India to-day and the task which the Church faced within the Roman Empire in the early centuries. Geographically the situation is widely different in the two cases, and yet one may maintain that there are races as diverse within the bounds of the Indian peninsula as were Phrygians and Egyptians, Greeks and Carthaginians, Britons and Jews. Nor could we find in the wide limits within which Paul and his successors carried their evangel a greater diversity of worships than is to be found in India to-day. In one respect, indeed, a more exact acquaintance with the religious situation in those early centuries brings the parallel closer than we had perhaps supposed. It was not the case there, any more than it is the case here, that Christianity prevailed because the old gods were dead and their power broken and men's hearts hungry to welcome more

satisfying food. Corrupt as the heathenism of those days had become, religion was still a subject of intense interest and of continual inquiry among the people, and speculation and research turned untiringly to every direction save the true one. And at the same time the old cults, if already dead as quickening influences, yet lived as powerful social forces. As with Hinduism, so with the Roman religion, it penetrated the whole fabric of society, controlling the daily life and habits of the people. For that reason in Rome, just as in India, to forsake the ancient gods was to become an outcast from society. In consequence Marcus Aurelius thought, just as many enlightened Indians who aspire to be political leaders in India to-day think, that patriotism requires a full conformity to heathen practice, and a public performance of idolatrous rites, although a corresponding belief no longer survives. Then, too, as in the modern parallel, intellectual dishonesty in these matters was often explained away and justified by the aid of philosophy. Gibbon has described one aspect of the religious life of ancient Rome that is not without its parallel in India in an epigram when he says that the Emperor was at once a priest, an atheist, and a god. Can we not find a combination of contradictions scarcely less strange in the well-known Indian prince of whom Mark Twain tells us in his "More Tramps Abroad," who, while recognised as a divine incarnation, was intimately acquainted with the careers of Tom Sawyer and Huck Finn? The easy imputation of dishonesty was not then sufficient to explain how Plutarch could justify the worship of Isis any more than it is now to explain how an Oxford or a Cambridge graduate can present an offering before the shrine of Ganpati. In both cases the aid of philosophy is called in to silence scruples. The allegorical interpretation of gross practices and of degrading legend was applied to the worship of Jupiter and Saturn two thousand years before the modern Hindu felt the need of having recourse to the same method of defending Krishna. In one respect the pagans of the early centuries seem to have been less fortunate than the modern Hindus. We do not read of any parallel to the irruption into India of such an apologist and interpreter of the decaying religion as Mrs. Besant. And yet attempts

to revive the old paganism were made by their own philosophers along much the same lines as the Theosophist leader follows to-day. As she identifies the churning of the sea of milk by the serpent Vasuki with Sir William Crookes' theory of the genesis of the elements and sees in the *lingam* of Shiva "a pillar of fire, typifying creative energy," so, according to the later Platonists, Ceres meant the efficacy of the heavenly bodies, and Saturn devouring his children was intelligence returning on itself. Then as now there was no use too base to which divine philosophy could not be put, and defenders of the corrupt and dying religions did not hesitate to degrade her to become portress at the gate of hell.

One great encouragement that the discovery of those and many other points of likeness in the religious situation then and now brings to the student is that these were then, and their parallels are to-day symptoms of the decay of the old faith and signs of its impending downfall. Indications, that sometimes awaken in us faithless fears, of a renewed vitality in Hinduism are in the main in India, as they were in the Roman Empire, partly the effect of contact with a living religion and partly the convulsive struggles of conscious weakness, aware of the victorious grasp which that religion has laid upon it. It is impossible for us to guess the secret laws that control the ebb and flow of the spiritual life, whether of individuals or of peoples. "The wind bloweth where it listeth." Apart from the influence of the Christian faith, there was unquestionably in the early centuries among the pagan peoples a real religious revival of a remarkable character. Replacing the old formal religions of Rome and Greece, there swept into their place emotional faiths from Egypt and from Persia. While those new oriental cults had many repulsive features and often resulted in the grossest practices, yet in their case, as in the case of the Vishnuite worships in India, their success was a testimony to the unquenchable religious longings of the heart of man. How great that success was, a success gained at the very time when the Christian apostles were going forth to conquer, we have difficulty in realising. "Like wild-fire," says Dr. Charles Bigg, speaking of the worship of Isis,

"far more rapidly than Christianity, this ambiguous cult overran the world." And of the Mithraic sun-worship, that still more formidable rival of Christianity, the same authority tells us that by the middle of the third century it had attained such dimensions that it seemed not unlikely to become the religion of the whole world. "The final battle in the age of Constantine," says Professor Gwatkin, "was round the cross ; but was it to be the cross of Christ as the sun-god's cross of light ?" The study of those two cults, the one springing from among the bestial worships of the Nile, the other coming via Persia from its ancient home in Vedic India, is interesting and of high value to the student of religion, and especially to the student who is watching in India the struggle of Christianity with rivals not dissimilar from those old forgotten systems that Christianity conquered long ago. We see there the last and most powerful efforts of paganism to "reconcile itself to the great moral and spiritual movement which was setting steadily and with growing momentum towards purer conceptions of God, of man's relation to Him and of the life to come."<sup>1</sup> There was a great tide of spiritual energy seeking in those centuries expression and appeasement. It sought these, as the human spirit always will, in easier ways and by methods more comfortable to the flesh than Christianity requires, but its imperious demand was that that satisfaction be a satisfaction to the tumultuous emotions and to the hungry heart. Accordingly those faiths, like the worship of Ram and even like the grosser worship of Krishna in India, were higher and more truly religious than the formal or philosophical systems that they largely supplanted. By the blood bath of the taurobolium, by the rites of initiation, by the provision of a mediator, by the promise of immortality, those religions sought to satisfy deep and unquenchable desires in the hearts of men. There was human sympathy in them and compassion and some attempt to respond to the sinful spirit's longing for forgiveness. "May we not say," says Dr. Bigg,<sup>2</sup> "that Isis worship was a sort of savage counterpart of Christianity, deeply tainted, alas ! by magic, better able

<sup>1</sup> Dill's *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, p. 585.

<sup>2</sup> *The Church's Task under the Roman Empire*, p. 45.



to rouse the feelings than to chasten them, yet in its wild Egyptian way a gospel of suffering, a shadow of better things to come?" This was still more true of the far nobler Mithra worship. There were many respects in which this strange Eastern religion was so like Christianity that Christian apologists detected in it a diabolical parody of the customs of the Church. It is not only that they were alike in the rite of baptism, in a common sacramental meal, in such a festival as that of December 25 from which the Church borrowed its date for Christmas; but in deeper ways Mithraism sought to satisfy the needs that are satisfied by Christ, and many a tomb still remains testifying that he who lies there was believed to have been by the rites of Mithra *renatus in aeternum*. In those faiths we see the most determined attempt ever made by heathenism, until repeated with still more stubborn resolution in India, to find satisfaction for its needs without breaking with the past in a purified nature worship—to transform and to retain the old evil superstition. We see, what is also to be seen on every hand in India to-day, attempts foredoomed to failure to pour new wine into old bottles.

It is hardly necessary to draw out in detail the comparison between that situation and what is to be found in India. The parallel is not only one that is close and becoming closer every day with the development of events, but it can be traced for centuries in the past of India's religious history. I refer to the rise of the religion of *bhakti* and the whole course of its history, showing how often the hungering Indian spirit has turned to it from the husks of formalism and of philosophy. Its course has been stained by the same gross excesses that stained the history of these ancient faiths, and yet, like them, it has sought to satisfy human hearts in ways often so closely akin to the Gospel that scholars still debate the question of its indebtedness to Christian teaching. We know that in addition to a certain kinship of spirit there are some striking superficial resemblances between the legends of the child Krishna and the nativity of Jesus, resemblances also to be found in the old Isis and Mithra cults; we know that the "Bhagavadgita," which perhaps represent an attempt to moralise the philosophical system of India and

to bring it nearer to men's hearts, and which, for that reason, has much vogue in India to-day, is held by able scholars to betray many traces of the influence of the Gospel of St. John ; we know that Tulasi Dasa, the most powerful religious influence in all Upper India, is believed by a student such as Dr. Grierson to have obtained many of his noblest conceptions from Christian sources ; and we know that the presence of Christianity in India to-day is moralising the old worships and quickening them to new life, as well as creating sects directly based upon its precepts. Similar influences are seen at work upon Moham-medanism. Babism, which, not improbably, may become the religion of Persia, and which is spreading in India also, is in certain respects so akin to Christianity that some of its adherents, like a Mithraite priest of whom Augustine tells us, actually claim the Christian name. Theosophy and Mrs. Besant, Sister Nivedita, and the like are attempting to do much that Mithraism attempted eighteen centuries ago. There is in both cases the same shallow tolerance and the same attempt to moralise the old, ugly nature worship and to take all gods alike within their hospitable borders.

In many other ways we could parallel in India to-day the syncretism that sought to give Christ a place within the heathen pantheon, even as Bengalis hang His picture on their walls beside the pictures of their gods ; that adopted the cross, as Chet Ramism in the Punjab does, in a generous collection of religious symbols. But passing from those minor indications of the pervading influence of the Christian faith, we will refer briefly to the philosophic movements of those early centuries, and particularly to neo-platonism. The two most important names among the exponents of this system are Plotinus, in whose books Augustine found the whole of the Gospel of St. John, except the Incarnation, and Porphyry, who, while accepting, like the Brahmo-Samajists, an ideal Christ, toiled his whole life through to destroy and to denounce the work of the risen and exalted Son of God. Another great figure, in some ways comparable to that of Swami Vivekananda, is Apollonius of Tyana, the missionary of pantheism, the great traveller and preacher, who denounced the evils of

his day and created a religious revival from Rome to Asia Minor. All those movements in those strangely surging times, like their parallels about us here, while making the struggle which the Church had to wage harder and delaying its triumph, were yet preparing men's hearts to receive at last in fulness and in power its message of grace and of salvation. Justin Martyr and Augustine found in the neo-platonist philosophers schoolmasters to lead them to Christ, but how far short their message fell of that in which those seekers found at last a refuge, Augustine himself has told us in words that might equally apply to the reforming theistic societies in India. He found in neo-platonism a high conception of the spirituality of God, but he did not find that doctrine of the word made flesh which humbled man and yet revealed to him an infinite hope. "Where," he says, "was that charity building on the humility that is in Christ Jesus? Those pages had not the tears of confession, Thy sacrifice, the contrite spirit, the broken and humbled heart, the salvation of the people, the bride, the city, the earnest of the Holy Spirit, the cup of our ransom. No one there hears Him call, 'Come unto me, all ye that labour.'"

But similar as is the conflict in both periods between the truth and its counterfeits, it would be a shallow and inadequate comparison that did not discover in certain respects a wide divergence. There is no parallel in those early centuries to a social force of such grip and such tenacity as we find in the caste system in India. The difference that the existence of this system produces, separating India and its peoples as it does from all others, it is difficult to exaggerate. The character of the Indian peoples, the needs they feel, their capacity to respond to the call of God, the mental and moral furniture of their minds—there is nothing in them that this social attitude does not radically affect. It accounts for one marked contrast between the effect of the appeal of Christ in the Roman Empire and in India. There is no more marked characteristic of the period when the Christian faith began its conquests than its sense of the agony of separation and the gloom of death. Such a book as Professor Dill's "Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius" affords

pathetic testimony to the dread of the loneliness of the grave and the passionate desire for an abiding life. The tombs that line the Appian Way and all the busiest highways, pressing, as it were, as close as possible to the sounds of human life and the tread of passing feet, give naïve and pitiful expression to that feeling. In many ways this passion for continued memory expressed itself, making the desire for immortality beyond every other desire the most striking characteristic of that age and of those peoples. One secret of the success of the oriental worships lay in the fact that by sacrament and mystery they sought to fortify the worshipper in the face of death and to prepare him for the vision of God. "The unconquered Mithra," says Professor Dill, "is the god of light and hope in this world and the next." It is obvious how great an opportunity such a condition of men's minds afforded to the message of Christ. There seems little doubt that in the case of a great body of the people the message of the Gospel created an irresistible attraction, because it brought life and immortality to light.

A single word is sufficient to illustrate the contrasting situation that we find in India. To say that people there do not shrink from the horror and the gloom of death, that they do not feel the agony of separation and the desire for reunion, would be to say that they have no human hearts and no human longings. But it is true to say that nearly every circumstance and every belief—the burning of the dead and the consequent absence of any memorials of them, their theory of transmigration, and perhaps as much as anything else that system of caste which has done much to quench all sense of individual life and responsibility and hope—those things have so far quenched in them this deep and imperious instinct as to deprive of much of its force the appeal and promise of eternal life. In the case of Mussulmans, who keep the lamps of comfort burning in their fathers' tombs, this aspect of the Christian message must bring consolation and must stir desire; but the Hindu for the most part listens listless and unmoved, as though the faculty were lacking in him to feel this need or to realise this comfort.

But the fact that men were by it begotten again to

a living hope, while an important influence in bringing about the victory of the Christian message, was not by any means the only or the chief one. It would be interesting if one could find out from the experience and testimony of Indian Christians what it is that in this land is found to be the aspect of Christian truth that most readily attracts their hearts. Is it, as the characteristics of Indian religion and the history of Indian aspiration would lead us to expect, the fact that through Christ the soul is brought into fellowship with God? Professor Harnack admits that it baffles him to determine the relative amount of impetus exerted in the history of the early Church by each of the forces which centred in Christianity. Those he enumerates are its spiritual monotheism, its preaching of Jesus Christ, its hope of immortality, its active charity and system of social aid, its discipline and organisation, its syncretistic capacity, and even, he adds, "the skill which it developed in the third century for surpassing the fascinations of any superstition whatsoever." This last aspect of the progress of Christianity is one which made its appearance when the greatness of its success had begun to produce corruptions within it, and such methods, where they were adopted, if for a time successful, proved fatal in the end. It is to such unworthy means of propagation, to the baptising and acceptance of heathen gods and heathen festivals, that Professor Ramsay attributes the ultimate disappearance of Christianity in Asia Minor, where once it was so strong, before what was really the more spiritual monotheism of Islam. What Harnack describes as its active charity and system of social aid, corresponds among the missionary activities of the early Church to the work of Medical Missions and Mission Orphanages. This department of the Church's activity included the support of widows and orphans, the sick and the disabled, as well as the care of prisoners, of slaves, and of people languishing in the mines. Care was taken, however, not to encourage mendicancy and to see that those who could should work. The churches, we are told, were labour unions. One example of this charity may be given. The Roman Church is reported by Eusebius to have maintained 1,500 widows and poor people. The public spirit and brotherly

care of those early Christians are a rebuke to our colder charity of to-day and a revelation of the wealth of sympathy and love that Christ inspired. We may well believe that few influences were more potent than this in attracting within the Church that "hard Roman world," and that, as Tertullian witnesses, no comment was more frequent nor more well deserved than "Look how they love one another."

It would be interesting, too, to compare the methods of missionary preaching then and now. In one respect there is full agreement—that greater than that of any words spoken was the influence of Christian lives lived. It is remarkable that Harnack can declare that "even pagans never charged Christianity with using money as a missionary motive." It cannot be said that that charge is never brought against Christians in India. There were the same differences of opinion then as now as to missionary methods. From the time of the Letters to the Seven Churches there were those who denounced heathenism and all its works with unsparing invective, and those, like Justin, who delighted in finding parallels and links of connection between Christ and Plato. While Augustine renders to Porphyry his respect, calling him "the noble philosopher," to Jerome he is "a fool, impious, blasphemer," "a mad dog attacking Christ." It is interesting to note, however, for the guidance of the modern missionary, that according to Harnack there was nothing more remarkable about Christianity in its victorious course than its adaptive and assimilative power. "By this sign," he says, "it conquered, for on all human things, on what was eternal and on what was transient alike, it set the sign of the Cross."

But one word more must be said before passing from consideration of the causes of the Christian triumph. However Christianity, as a power of life, might assimilate the elements of truth in the systems that it overcame, it did so then, as it does to-day, not by concealing as by compromising its own central and abiding message. "The study of the great Greek and Roman moralists of the Empire," says Professor Bigg, "leaves upon my own mind a strong conviction that the fundamental difference

## BUSH BROTHERHOODS IN QUEENSLAND.

BUSH BROTHERHOODS have become in late years a recognised method of working the remoter parts of the Australian Bush, more particularly in the dioceses of Queensland. It is more than ten years since the first was formed at Longreach, in the diocese of Rockhampton. It was followed by the establishment of a second at Charleville, in the diocese of Brisbane, and of a third in the diocese of North Queensland. There are, therefore, some facts available which may enable us to form an opinion as to their results. It is hardly necessary to mention that it is with work among the white inhabitants of Queensland that this article deals. The aboriginal black people of Australia are not numerous in Queensland, they do not constitute a problem to the State as they do in South Africa, and they are only found in the North in any numbers. The Church does what it can for them. It has special Mission stations to which they can come, to which they are often sent, and on which they can be taught. One of these has been described in a recent article by the Archbishop of Brisbane. But Bush Brotherhoods are intended rather to meet the problem how to supply the spiritual needs of the white settlers in the less closely settled parts of the Australian Bush. Let us first state the problem. Roughly speaking, we may divide Church work in these Queensland dioceses into three kinds. These correspond with the three conditions under which people live and work in this country—namely (1) in the towns; (2) in the farming districts; (3) in the pastoral districts. The conditions of life in Queensland are no more uniform than they are in any other country. They alter, in fact, as one progresses inland. And as all the Queensland dioceses run in parallel strips across the

country, from the coast to the South Australian border, they all contain these three different conditions.

First come the larger towns, which lie along the coast. Brisbane is the largest, with its population of over 100,000 people ; but several others contain about 20,000 a-piece. One town is very much like another town all over the English-speaking world, and the work of the Church in these towns is much the same as that with which we are familiar in towns in England. Although the Church is unable to have such a multiplicity of organisations owing to the absence of endowments and the scarcity of clergy, it works in the same way as in the towns of the old country. It is erroneous to suppose that every Australian clergyman spends half his time riding ; the clergy in Brisbane have no more occasion to ride than those in a town parish in England, and most of them never do.

We pass, then, from these larger towns into the Bush, a term which merely signifies the country as opposed to the towns. As we travel west from the sea coast, we come at once into the farming districts. By farming districts we mean those in which agricultural and mixed farming are practised, as opposed to the purely grazing districts of the West. There are two things which cause the difference between the coastal and the western districts. It is not the soil, which is probably better in the west than on the coast, but it is, first, the rainfall, and, secondly, railway communication. Throughout the greater part of Queensland there is splendid soil, and almost anything will grow as long as there is rain. In the coastal districts, *i.e.* for 200 or 300 miles inland, there is sufficient rain to make agricultural farming on small areas remunerative. The average rainfall on the Darling Downs, which is the best farming country in Queensland, 100 miles inland, is about 35 inches in the year. At Yeulba, 280 miles inland, it is 27 inches ; while at Mitchell, 370 miles inland, it falls to 22 inches. As long as there is this rainfall agricultural farming can be made to pay, though rather larger areas are necessary the further inland one goes. We come, now, to the second consideration, that of railway communication. Railways do not yet make farming possible as far west as does the rainfall. Side lines, by which farmers can get produce



away, do not extend much more than 100 miles inland. There are three or four main lines running due west from the more important ports on the coast, parallel through the country, of which that from Brisbane is the longest. It runs 485 miles west to Charleville, and another 120 miles south to Cunnamulla. Along this railway agricultural farming is practised as far west as Mitchell, though good crops are not by any means certain here, with an average rainfall of only 22 inches. Away from the railway, even if the rainfall is sufficient, agriculture becomes impossible. It is not worth while to send away agricultural produce, and it is impossible to send away dairy produce by road. Speaking generally, we may say that it is only for 150 miles inland that these farming districts exist. The Government are willing to sell 160 acres of land if the land is good, and up to 640 acres if the land is not so good, to farmers, for 2s. 6d. an acre, the money to be paid in ten years, and with certain conditions of residence and cultivation. Much of the coastal country is now occupied in this way.

We have here conditions something like those existing in the country districts of England. For the most part a closely settled farming population is living on 160 to 640 acre farms, and is engaged in agriculture and dairying, this latter being the more profitable of the two. Again, the Church is able to work in the same way as that in which she works in English country districts. These coastal districts are divided into parishes, and when obtainable a clergyman is put in charge of each. The only difference is that, whereas in England nearly every village has its clergyman and services three times on a Sunday, in the farming districts of Queensland each parish contains four or five villages or small farming townships, and a clergyman on a Sunday has morning service in one, afternoon service in a second, and evening service in a third. There have been suggestions of extending the Brotherhood system to these farming districts. We hear the plan sometimes advocated for the country districts of England, and those who are in its favour in one case may also be in the other. But unless it be necessary on account of the present distress caused by the scarcity of clergy, it is hard

to see what the advantages would be. A Brotherhood makes much more difficult that intimate personal relation between a parish priest and his people, which often exists at present and which is helpful to both sides. No member of the Brotherhood is looked upon as their particular clergyman; the people do not know their clergyman or the clergyman his people as they do on the parochial plan. A Brotherhood, moreover, necessarily means unmarried men, as it would be quite impossible for men to live together if married. This appears to be an unnecessary restriction, and in the long run benefits neither the Church nor the nation. It would not benefit the Church, because many of the existing clergy are themselves sons of clergy; nor would it benefit the nation, because many of England's greatest men have been brought up in her quiet country vicarages, and the same is likely to happen again in new countries.

We come, then, to those districts where Bush Brotherhoods have so far been attempted, viz. the dry inland districts where, owing to the precarious rainfall and the want of railway communication, agriculture is impossible, and which are consequently given up to grazing, to breeding large flocks of sheep or herds of cattle. This kind of country forms the largest part of Queensland. But, great as is the extent of this country, it is the least important part of Queensland. The more important districts are those on the coast, and out of fifty clergy in the diocese of Brisbane, forty-five live within 200 miles of the sea, whilst the other five have the rest of the diocese to themselves.

The district in which the Brotherhood exists, then, in the diocese of Brisbane, begins 200 miles from the coast and extends for another 700 miles west. It also reaches north and south the whole width of the diocese. All this district it works, with the exception of the town of Roma and a radius of fifteen miles round, which is a separate parish with a settled clergyman of its own. This Brotherhood district, except for the few farms mentioned along the railway as far as Mitchell, is entirely pastoral. The land is leased from the Government, either by grazing farmers in areas up to 60,000 acres, or by the larger pastoral

lessees, generally known as station-holders or squatters, in areas unlimited in extent. These latter holdings are very large indeed, 1,000 square miles in the Far West being quite an ordinary size. There is not, as a rule, any desire on the part either of the grazing farmers or of the station-owners to buy their land as freehold. Legislation upon land matters is considered uncertain, and it is thought to be safer policy to rent the land, with the possibility of throwing it up if conditions become too hard, than to obtain the freehold, and run the risk of the imposition of some burdensome land tax from which there would be no escape. Nor, as a rule, does the Government wish to sell.

The Church thus finds a population scattered all over these districts. The people live in little scattered townships of from twenty-five to 1,300 people, which are 50 to 150 miles apart. In between these townships the grazing farm and station houses are from five to 50 miles apart. There are, besides, a certain number of stockmen on out-stations, grooms for coaches, hotels, men in charge of rabbit fences, and a few opal miners. How is the Church to care for these scattered people, many of whom have been confirmed, who have children to be baptized and brought up, and who number in all, perhaps 10,000? Bush Brotherhoods seem to provide the best answer. In the past the old parochial system was tried in these districts. This western country was divided into four large parishes—two the size of England, the other two about half the size. When obtainable a clergyman was sent out to one of these parishes, to make his centre in the largest town in it, and to travel through the country. It invariably happened that there was a long delay before a clergyman could be found. When found he was sent out, and no doubt there were many difficulties to contend with. Not that we must exaggerate the roughness of the life. The manners of the ordinary stockman are far superior to those of a Yorkshire mill-hand, and a Sunday-school in a Bush township is a haven of peace compared to one in the East End of London. Many of the station homes, too, are delightful, and hospitality is ever ready. And yet it was very hot and often very dry. The clergyman was constantly travelling, and it sometimes

happened that with all the expenses of travelling he was inadequately supported; moreover, he never saw another clergyman. In course of time he left, and again there was a long interval before another could be found. There was, therefore, no continuity in the work, and it was for this reason the system of Bush Brotherhoods was inaugurated. Instead of there being four clergy living at different points, the four parishes are amalgamated into one district, and there are four clergy living in a common centre and travelling through the whole district. The advantages of this system are obvious. First, it secures a continuity of work. As long as the Brotherhood exists there is someone to care for everybody in the district, however remote they may be. According as the members of the Brotherhood are few or many, services are fewer or more frequent in the towns and station houses through the district; but at least there are not now the long intervals that there have been in the past, *i.e.* except in the very remote parts there is no interval longer than three months. Then, too, the isolation is done away with. One rule of the Brotherhood is that its members meet every three months and spend four or five days together. There is also a saving in the matter of finance. There remain, of course, the same objections as those we have mentioned against establishing Brotherhoods in the farming districts, but in this case, owing to the different conditions of settlement, they are more than counterbalanced by the advantages gained. The establishment of a Brotherhood is the most certain way to ensure continuity—it is the only way to avoid isolation, and it is the best way to combat “that eternal want of peace which vexes public men” as well in Church as in State affairs. As long as the conditions of the country remain the same, Bush Brotherhoods are likely to endure. We have said that good railway communication does not at present extend as far as a rainfall sufficient to make farming possible. But though railway communication is slow in coming, it will come in time. When it does so, the big pastoral lessees will be driven further and further back, and much of the land which is now held in large areas for grazing purposes will be divided into smaller areas for purposes of agriculture. As

this happens, the Church will probably cut these parts off from the Brotherhood district, and make them into parishes, like those nearer the coast. Another 200 miles inland from the coast may thus be added to the farming districts, but more than 400 miles inland will remain unaffected. Railway communication can be created by man ; it is not easy to see how a rainfall can be secured. Proposals have been made for conserving the water in the rivers for purposes of irrigation, but the rivers in these districts are 100 miles apart, nor is there any such thing as an annual flood. It has been suggested that the constant flow of water from artesian bores is going to alter the climate by affording a greater supply of moisture to the atmosphere, or that the centre of South Australia may be flooded and made into a large inland sea with the same result ; but it is most improbable that the Far Western districts will ever support a closely settled population. As railway communication improves we may get more grazing farmers on 60,000 acre holdings in place of the station-owners on 1,000,000 acres as at present. But as long as the country can only carry about one sheep to ten acres, holdings must of necessity be large and population scattered, and so long Bush Brotherhoods will best meet the spiritual necessities of the people.

A word, now, as to their organisation. In the first place, it is better that they should be staffed with priests than with catechists, not because the latter are any less capable, but because, not being ordained, they have not the same powers. Catechists are excellent in the farming districts, where distances are comparatively short, and where a fully ordained clergyman can get about to administer the Sacraments, his work being supplemented by catechists, who hold other services and preach. But in the more scattered districts this is not the case. A catechist may go a trip of 500 or 600 miles and find five or six children to be baptized, and perhaps two people who wish to be married. He is unable to be of any use in either case, and a priest has to go the same trip over again. Catechists have worked in the Brotherhood in the past, and they were the first to recognise their own limitations. Voluntary lay-readers in the different town-

ships, who will hold Sunday services during the absences of the clergy, are invaluable, and are everywhere in request; but they are very hard to get.

As to the division of time between the townships and the station houses, some think more time should be spent in the townships, others in travelling round the stations. The greater population is in the townships, and Sunday is usually spent in one of them. But if the clergy are to get round the stations at all regularly, the town must usually be deserted through the week and the days spent in travelling. As long as those in the towns have opportunities of attending services fairly regularly upon Sundays, they cannot expect the clergy to stay the week in the towns, and so take away from those upon the stations the opportunity of a service even once in three months.

The number of clergy desirable in a Brotherhood is hard to specify. No one can look at the size of the area covered—an area three times as large as England—without realising that there is work for a great many more than four. The numbers, however, have to be limited by two things. First, by the demand elsewhere. With the extension of railways and closer settlement more and more clergy are wanted to take over the country parishes in the growing farming districts, and it is for men for the Darling Downs that the appeal is now being especially made. Secondly, by financial considerations. The stipend and expenses of each man come to about £160 a year. This allows for 5,000 miles a year travelling with horses. The Charleville Bush Brotherhood in the Brisbane diocese aspires to attain to six men. Even given a certain amount of outside help, this means a large sum to be collected annually in the district. Almost all are willing to help, but we have to remember : (1) There is a continual begging of money for building purposes going on at the same time, for the erection and the furnishing of churches. (2) Though the stations are large, and big profits are often made, they are, as a rule, in the hands of banks and companies, and not of private owners. These companies pay a man to manage the station, often not a princely salary, whilst the profits go to shareholders in other countries. A company, moreover, is too impersonal to be a good subscriber.

(3) There have always been periods of appalling drought in Queensland, and apparently there always will be. No one ever knows when four-fifths of the stock may not perish again in the west of starvation—a catastrophe which means ruin to many of the station-holders, and a cessation of employment for the workers until the country can be re-stocked.

Lastly, in regard to travelling. In each of the Queensland dioceses there is one main line running due west from the coast. For a great part of its length it runs through the district worked by a Bush Brotherhood. In the diocese of Brisbane it does so for 400 miles, and can be made use of for visiting the various townships and sidings upon the railway; but the main part of the travelling must always be by road, and can be done either by riding or driving. Riding is always the more independent method of travel—you can travel alone, you can get along whatever the weather and the mud; in flood-time you can cross rivers comfortably, if travelling on the main roads, by going over in the boat usually kept at the crossing and swimming your horses behind. This cannot always be done when driving. So that, in the winter, riding is always the pleasanter method of travelling, unless there happen to be a particularly bad drought and you have to carry feed for your horses, which you cannot do riding. But in the heat of the summer, riding is unnecessarily trying, and most men take to driving then. As to the method of driving there is a choice. You can either travel in a buggy or four-wheeled trap with two horses, or in a sulky or two-wheeled trap with one. Each conveyance has its advantages. The advantages of the buggy are that if a horse knocks up it is always easier to buy or borrow a buggy horse than a sulky horse. Again, horses are sociable animals, and if there is much sleeping out to be done are more contented, and do not wander so far as one horse alone. On the other hand, the great advantage of a sulky is that you can travel by yourself. You cannot always do so with two horses, as you want a boy to open gates and to help you to put them in. This may not be necessary at the end of a trip, but it is usually so at the beginning, and in travelling alone.

There is both a saving in the matter of expense and also less anxiety, for the human boy is much the same whether he lives at one side of the world or the other, and if you take one you will probably find that you have to look after both horses and boy.

Continual travelling is hard work, but the climate, though hot, is excellent, and if often tired one is always well. The life is a healthy open-air life, and one which any man should enjoy. It is a life, too, in which he is bound to feel that he is wanted and is doing useful work. Though the summer heat be trying, and the flies troublesome, few things are pleasanter than to lie out under the stars on a warm summer night and listen to the sound of your horses' bells as they graze round your camp.

H. L. PUXLEY.



## THE WANING INFLUENCE OF NON-CHRISTIAN RELIGIONS IN INDIA.

INDIA is not one country, but a group of countries ; it is inhabited not by one people, but by a mixture of peoples ; and they profess not one religion only, but a variety of religions. These religions are foreign to each other ; they have come from different sources ; and though in details one may have borrowed something from another, they are, for the most part, hostile and irreconcilable. The most widely spread of these religions is Hinduism, which is further split up into caste divisions, the members of which regard each other as aliens, if not as foes. Individual conversions from one religion to another, mainly from Hinduism to Mohammedanism, are not wholly unknown ; but the Pax Britannica has so far settled upon the land that the Moslem method of conversion—the Kalima or the sword—is a thing of the past ; the persuasive method is less successful, and the ordinary Indian has no more idea of changing his religion than he has of changing his nationality. Nevertheless a change is in progress, and that on a large scale. Our Government has proclaimed, and continues to proclaim, religious neutrality ; men of any religion, or of none at all, are eligible to compete for its appointments, and the ostensible aim in this neutrality is that the indigenous religions may remain unmolested. The actual result, however, is very different ; and there are signs, neither few nor slight, that these religions are losing their hold upon the rising generation of India. The fact is interesting, and it is likely to become more widely true as time goes on. In individual cases Gospel teaching has effected a change, and in many more it has induced a readiness to change ; the number of professing Christians among the natives of India is beginning to be reckoned by millions ; but far beyond where such teaching has reached,

the influence of our Government is making itself felt, and Indians generally are finding themselves less firmly shackled by their religious peculiarities than they used to be.

To begin with the Hindus, education is playing a prominent part in effecting this change. In many schools science is taught; it is among the subjects recognised and encouraged by Government. The inspector, without making the faintest direct allusion to the truth of Christianity or the falsehood of Hinduism, examines school after school in astronomy. Recently, in one of our high schools, the matriculation class was examined in astronomy by way of preparation for the inspector's visit; the boys gave a fairly correct explanation of the phenomena of a lunar eclipse. "Boys," the examiner asked them, "are you quite sure that the eclipse is not caused by a dragon swallowing up the moon?" The smile of derision that passed over their faces showed very clearly that they appreciated the truth of the scientific explanation, and took the heathen tradition at its right value. Yet the next time there is an eclipse of the moon visible those boys will hear the shouting and beating of pots which their Hindu friends will raise to drive away the dragon; probably they will join in making the din. What effect has their school teaching upon their religious belief? Its effect is to make this belief a contemptible thing in their eyes; they will carry on the customary shouting and pot-beating, but will laugh at one another while doing so. Few and far between are the students who can be carried away by the conservatism of the teacher who said: "If the Sahib asks you whether the world is round, say Yes; because he thinks it is so, and we want his good report for our school; but we know better."

Another way in which Hinduism is being effectually, though unintentionally, broken down by our Government is through the railway system, which is more or less a department of Government. It used to be a rule of Hinduism that low-caste men must not presume to mingle with those of a higher caste; more especially Pariahs and Sudras must not contaminate Brahmins by touching them,

or even by coming near them. Those despised dregs of humanity might worship a Brahmin, or might drink the water in which he had washed his feet if he diverged so far from his love of dirt ; but that one of them should sit on the same seat with so exalted a being was unthinkable : and if such a thing had happened by accident or otherwise, the defilement of caste incurred by the demigod of a Brahmin would have to be purged away with much ceremony and difficulty. Our Government has left all this severely alone, has passed no ordinance and pronounced no legal decision that denies the right of Brahmins to hold themselves above all other human beings ; but it has laid down lines of railway, and has run trains upon them. Travelling by rail is as convenient in India as in England, and far cheaper ; and though the Brahmin may occasionally avoid the railway, and do his journeying by road, the exigencies of daily life compel him, no less than his despised neighbour, to travel frequently by train. What happens, then, when he comes to the railway station, and when he enters a railway carriage ? There is but one waiting-room for third-class passengers at the station, and in it are herded travellers of all ranks and castes ; and when the train arrives the third-class carriage is the mixing place for all who cannot afford to pay half an anna a mile ; nor are the carriages distinguished from one another by labels, " For Brahmins only," " For Sudras only," and so on. " Are you going on ? " cried the Eurasian guard to a Brahmin, who was hesitating on the platform. The answer was given doubtfully, " Yes, but I cannot go in that carriage because of my caste." With an expression not of polished politeness towards the man's caste, the guard pushed him into the carriage and waved the train on. The Brahmins are accepting the inevitable, and are finding out that, after all, it is possible to live without holding themselves above contact with low-caste men.

Very much the same sort of thing has followed upon the introduction of our system of water supply in the towns. It is, or has been, a tenet of Brahminism that no men of lower caste may drink from a Brahmin's well, or take water from a vessel that is sanctified by his use. They must go and look for other wells and provide them-

selves with other vessels. Our new system, terribly un-Indian, is to provide tanks of drinking water for a whole district, to lay down pipes below the surface of the ground, to bring water through them into houses, and to charge a water rate upon all who avail themselves of this convenient supply. The Brahmin cannot reserve this water for himself and send all other people, Englishmen included, to find some other supply ; his choice is between making himself an out-caste, so far as water is concerned, and allowing his exclusiveness to be overridden. He has wisely taken the latter alternative, and by taking it has driven another nail into the coffin of Hinduism.

The Swadeshi disturbances in Bengal illustrate the same thing from another point of view. The unreality of the appeal to national sentiment, which the agitators profess to make, is patent. Of course anything like consistent or reasonable argument is not to be looked for in such men, nor if found among them would it be appreciated by their followers. " Let us promote native industry by refusing to buy Manchester goods." This sounds well, and shops where Manchester goods are sold are looted by the mob. They do not stop to ask how native industry can produce the equivalent, unless with the help of Birmingham or Sheffield tools. That would be dipping too deeply into economical science. But if the agitators merely succeeded in shutting up a few European houses of business, their object would be by no means attained : it is the Government that they seek to damage, and they must have a political cry : they have found one, not in connection with their religion, but in connection with the partition of Bengal. That enormous stretch of country, which until lately was administered as a single province, is now divided and assigned to two Lieutenant-Governors. How can such a rearrangement of our judicial and fiscal system damage the Bengalee ? That question is beside the mark. The line of argument is not :—We oppose the partition because it affects your interests adversely, and we wish well to those interests ; but,—We oppose the partition because the English Government has decided upon it, and we wish ill to the Government. Now what is noticeable in this agitation is its complete severance from avowedly

religious aims. Very different counsels were taken by the sedition-mongers fifty years ago. When the Mutiny of 1857 was being stirred up the leaders seized upon a religious grievance: the absurdity of the greased cartridge idea was no reason against its being utilised, and it answered its purpose very well, because very widely. But now it would seem the agitators know the futility of attempting to play upon the religious susceptibilities of the people at large, and they have fallen back upon what they hope will be more effectual, for a religious outcry at present would make less stir than this pretended zeal for national interests, hollow as it is.

The Arya Samaj and the Brahmo Samaj may next be referred to. They are attempts to stay the course of national defection from Hinduism, and rest upon the feeling that it is better to surrender part rather than to be deprived of the whole. Its followers feel that Hinduism is doomed, and is slipping from their grasp under the influence of advancing Christianity; they would make a compact with the new religion, and surrender to its demands a substantial portion of their creed, if so be they can salve the rest. And so castes and idolatry are thrown overboard, while the authority of the Vedas is set up as a barrier against the complete acceptance of the Christian Scriptures. It has been questioned whether these Somajes may not prove steps towards the adoption of Christianity on a large scale by Hindus. There is little prospect of such a result, for the native mind is not logical enough to follow up the movement to its legitimate conclusion; nor is it desirable that such should be the case, for the movement is essentially political, and only as an outward pretence religious. At the same time it is no small gain from the Christian standpoint to see that influential Hindus are ceasing to advocate some of the most pronounced and horrible incidents of their ancestral religion; and we cannot but rejoice at the tone adopted by the leaders of the so-called Indian National Council, when in their opening prayer they invoked the great Father of all, and asked for the guidance of his Spirit to direct their consultations.

There are no doubt many things that show the Hindus to be still thoroughly Hindu; but that is only to say that

their religion is not yet extinct. This may serve as a characteristic instance—Not many years ago, while the plague was raging badly in and around Poona, a fakir entered a village in that district, and soon attracted a crowd round him. At first he refused to speak, but when the crowd was large enough, and keen enough to suit him, he declared that he could put a stop to the plague, and save their village from it, if they would attend to his instructions. They promised obedience, and he proceeded to dictate his terms; these were that they should endow a temple with some thousands of rupees, and put in a fakir—himself of course—to live upon the plenty so provided; also that they should make a trench from where he stood down to the river, a distance of a hundred yards or so, and pour so much ghee into it that when lighted the flames would extend the whole distance. The villagers preferred this method of fighting the plague to the sanitary measures that were being urged upon them by the Government. In the event their traditional faith in fakir infallibility received something of a shock, for the plague entered their village, and the man himself died of it.

The Mohammedans are showing no less clearly than the Hindus that their ancestral religion is not what it used to be to them, but the evidence is of a different kind. They are not allowing Christianity to colour their faith, nor is the Bible drawing them to re-edit the Koran. It is rather by accepting the inevitable, and accommodating themselves to British dominance, that they show the waning influence of Islam. They scorn and detest Western education, but they are not above seeking lucrative positions under our Government; and they have found themselves left out in the cold as compared with other Indians. Not long ago they sent a deputation to the Viceroy to complain that their share in the public service was less than their due, regard being had to their numbers. The answer they received was to the effect that candidates for the public service were selected solely with reference to their educational attainments, and that if they wished to win a larger proportion of nominations they must give more attention to their schools. They have been wise enough to take the advice,

unpalatable as it was, and the Koran is being shelved by the European text-books. An old saying, which perhaps expresses the feeling of Moslems more widely than they will avow, discountenances modern teaching after this fashion: If your books are in accordance with the Koran, they are superfluous; if not, they are erroneous. But public money and coveted positions are now being thrown into the scale against the Koran, and the effect is great.

Facility of travel is also telling upon the Mohammedan estimate of things. When a pilgrimage to Mecca was a splendid act of merit, and possible for comparatively few, those who succeeded in accomplishing it were held in great honour, and the religion was aggrandised in consequence; they were high above ordinary mortals, it was higher. Now all this is changing: pilgrims can take the train to Bombay from most parts of India for a few rupees, and can cross the sea to Mecca for a few more. The length of the journey is reckoned in days instead of months. European inventions have rendered this possible, and it is mostly in European ships that the pilgrims make the voyage. The simplicity and cheapness of the whole undertaking has resulted in robbing the pilgrimage of its rarity, and the honour attaching to it is lessened. Moreover, these pilgrims have to submit to the humiliation of sanitary inspection, and that at the command of the Christian Government of Bombay. How long the traditional sanctity of the pilgrimage will survive the good-humoured contempt implied by such treatment of the pilgrims remains to be seen; certainly there is no longer anything heroic about the journey from India to Mecca.

A third chilling influence we are exerting upon the Moslems, and upon their religion, arises from our insistence upon their keeping the peace. Our Christian Government objects to throat-cutting, which is an occupation much in repute among the Mohammedans. An old inhabitant of a Moslem village in North India not long ago was recalling scenes which occurred before the English took possession of the country, and contrasting the new *régime* with the old. The contrast was drawn in some such way as this:—Before you came, one half of our

village used to sit up every night on guard, for fear the other half should come and cut their throats ; but now we all go calmly to sleep ; no one stays awake but the Sepoy in Government employ.

Moreover, these influences extend beyond the limits of British territory, strictly so called, and any attempt by the Nizam, for instance, to put in force the old Mohammedan methods with his non-Moslem neighbours, or even with his own non-Moslem subjects, would be promptly repressed : if those natives of Hyderabad who have been converted by our missionaries were required to recant on pain of death, the English Resident would interfere, and that without any diplomatic delay, and at his back there would be the power of the Government of India.

This consciousness of restraint might co-exist with undiminished regard for the Koran, as the true and only word of God, were it not for the Mohammedan claim to rule in this world, as well as to be happy in the next.

In Western India the Parsees are a considerable community, though, if the whole of India is in question, they are but few in number. They have shown themselves more ready to take up with European ideas and methods than either Hindus or Mohammedans ; and in their case, more than in either of those others, it is clear that the old religion is losing ground.

Education is one of the chief causes of the changes which are taking place. Until lately, few Indians knew their own sacred books—indeed, few of them know much of them now—but the knowledge of them is increasing. Our Government is encouraging the study. The ancient Pahlavi language, in which some of the religious books are written, is one of the recognised languages in the official code. Government is strictly neutral in this matter of languages : the Parsee may offer himself for examination in Pahlavi ; the Mohammedan, in Arabic ; the Hindu, in Sanskrit ; and the Jew, in Hebrew. It is a wise neutrality, for fuller knowledge brings with it greater ability to recognise the inferiority of the Zend Avesta to the Bible. A young Parsee was conversing recently with a Christian missionary about these two books. “ Do you



believe," the missionary asked him, "that if you kill a tortoise you will be received safe into heaven without being asked another question, as your Avesta says; and that if you kill a water-dog you are lost beyond hope, for it is an unpardonable sin? And, if you do believe it, what do you suppose will be said to you in the judgment if you have killed both a tortoise and a water-dog?" The Parsee's reply was not complimentary towards the book which could teach such rubbish. He remains a Parsee still, but it is not from religious conviction, nor because he holds the sacred books of Zoroastrianism in high regard.

The fact that the Parsees are indebted to us for safety from Mohammedan persecution, and have been delivered by us from the marks of servitude laid upon them by the Hindus, would of itself throw no discredit upon the Avesta, for that book lays no claim to lordship over the world on behalf of the faithful; but the Parsees themselves effectually discredit its authority, and dissent from its precepts by their opposition to proselytism. The Avesta distinctly asserts the right of Zoroastrians to spread their faith among strangers by force of arms. Indeed, it is on record, though not in the Avesta itself, that Zoroaster met his death in a religious war of aggression. But the leading Parsees in Bombay have thrown over the teaching of their prophet and severed themselves from his example. Within the last two or three years the question of admitting a foreigner into their religion has been keenly agitated. One of their number married a European wife, and wished her to have the same status as is accorded to the wives of other Parsees. Several meetings were held to decide the question; the arguments mainly relied upon were drawn, not from the sacred writings, but from the present position and prospects of the Parsees in India, and a majority decided that no one who is not a born Zoroastrian may be admitted to the rights and privileges of their community. This decision may yet have to be submitted to the arbitrament of our law courts; but, however that may be, it is plain that the ruling principles of the Parsees are not the books to which they nominally owe allegiance; and, if not, they are, so far as their religion is concerned, a ship without a rudder. Some of them have acknowledged this, and have spoken of accepting

our religion, as they have accepted our modes of education, of travel, of house furnishing, and so on. A Parsee lately was travelling by rail with an English clergyman, and expressed himself by no means averse to the thought of exchanging Zoroastrianism for Christianity; "but," he added, "if we do come over to you we shall want to have our own separate churches and ministers, and not be merged in your other congregations." It is for their racial identity, rather than for their religion, that they are jealous.

This racial feeling shows itself occasionally in ways that have no bearing whatever upon their religious beliefs. Thus, when the Government of Bombay decided, about eighteen months ago, to introduce Standard time into that city, instead of having all their clocks half an hour behind those in the railway stations, the Parsees raised an opposition. So did the Hindus, but they pretended that it was a religious matter, and that their ceremonies would be interfered with if the clocks were put on from local time. (They failed to explain how Hinduism required local time to be shown by Bombay clocks and not by Poona or Surat clocks; but that is beside the point.) The Parsees sided with the Hindus. The Parsees have from time to time shown great concern at the loss of one of their community by conversion to Christianity. The first time such a conversion took place was in the year 1839. A student under Dr. Wilson, of the Scotch Free Church, was baptized in that year. His name was Nowroji Dhanjibhoy. He became afterwards an ordained minister of that Church, and is still an honoured member of the same. At the time of his conversion he was set upon privately and openly, and every means was made use of to hinder his baptism. An action was brought against Dr. Wilson in the High Court, and on the day of hearing the streets were thronged by crowds of men interested in the proceedings. So threatening was the attitude of the people that a strong body of troops was held in readiness to support the police in repressing a riot. An attempt was made to kidnap the young convert at the very door of the court-house, and when the judgment was pronounced in favour of Dr. Wilson, and the Parsees found themselves unable to carry off Nowroji Dhanjibhoy from his Christian friends, they left no stone unturned in their efforts to reverse the decision. They appealed to the

Government of Bombay; they appealed to the Government of India; they threatened a revolution; they appealed to the home Parliament; they filled the local Press with their complaints; they even went so far as to try to induce the new convert to return to them by offering him wealth and position on a magnificent scale. Contrast all this with what took place when a Parsee was baptized in 1906. Beyond a little petty persecution in his domestic life the convert had nothing to endure from his co-religionists. The young man, after some months' probation as a catechumen, was admitted by public baptism into the Church of England, and no notice whatever was taken of the event by the Parsees at large; they made no demonstration, gathered no crowd, and did not even show that they were annoyed by the proceedings. They have lost from first to last a hundred or more of their number by conversion, and they have learnt that Zoroastrianism is no charmed enclosure which cannot be broken in upon.

And if these religions in India have lost some of their binding influence over their professors, it is plain that the loss is no mere temporary wane, but is a permanent and growing decay. Each individual withdrawn from any one of these religions and admitted into the Christian fold adds to the numerical importance of the Church in that land, and diminishes the preponderance of the non-Christians; and therefore, so to speak, counts for two on a division. So long as there were no Indian Christians, or scarcely any, conversion involved breaking away from all old associations and companions, and taking up a position of isolation. What this meant only those who have tried can tell. The outlook, from the point of view of the missionaries and their supporters, is hopeful, and more than hopeful, though the vision tarries longer than we could have wished. It is as when we stand on the shore of a tidal sea after low water, and notice the certain indications of the commencing flow; the tide may advance slowly, but it will advance irresistibly. The simile is deficient in this respect, that in the rising tide of Christianity in India it is our own prayerful effort which, by God's blessing, will constitute the moving cause of the advance.

H. McNEILE.

## **"AN OUTPOST OF THE EMPIRE."**

### **A NEW GUINEA GOVERNMENT REPORT.**

SOME interesting facts concerning an outpost of the Empire are set forth in a report made to the Governor-General of Australia by a Commission recently appointed to inquire into the present conditions of British New Guinea, or, to call it by the name given to it by the Commonwealth—Papua.

A consideration of these facts suggests many problems to the student of Christian Missions.

The history of Papua may well serve as an illustration of one of the methods by which the Empire has been extended.

New Guinea lies within eighty miles of the Australian coast, so that in 1883 when there were rumours of German Colonial expansion, Australians were much alarmed at the prospect of the formation of a German Naval base near their own shores, and they feared for the safety of their shipping in its passage through the narrow sea dividing them from New Guinea. Prompt action was taken by the Queensland Government, who sent up a magistrate to annex the island in the name of Great Britain. This action was not confirmed by the Home Authorities, for, as the Colonial Secretary of those days said "the Queen has enough black subjects already." This refusal by the Government of the day led to very important results.

For the first time in their history the "Seven Colonies of Australia" sent representatives to a Conference. The New Guinea question was considered, and on the recommendation of this Conference a Protectorate was proclaimed in 1884 on the ground of the strategic value of the country, and secondly in order to protect the natives from certain "lawless and evil disposed persons."

The Report contains elaborate recommendations for the improvement of agriculture, the timber industry, and the development of mining, and other commercial concerns. The Commissioners say "The provision of roads . . . is of the utmost practical importance to the Territory," and they recommend a vigorous policy of road-making. This will in time greatly facilitate missionary work, which up to the present is confined almost exclusively to the coast owing to the difficulties of travelling inland.

The Commissioners recommend the Crown to make advances on easy terms to settlers and prospectors, as a means of encouraging private enterprise. They make many useful suggestions regarding improvements in the mail service with Australia, and the installation of a system of wireless telegraphy with Thursday Island, and of a telephonic system between important points in Papua itself. The adoption of these suggestions will benefit the missionaries as much as any part of the population.

As a part of the policy to be pursued by the Commonwealth Government, it is recommended that steps be taken to advertise Papua in Australia, and in England, with a view to correcting errors about the country and attracting the right class of settlers. So far as is known the Papuans manufacture nothing in the way of alcoholic liquors, and other such like stimulants. It is to the credit of the Administration, and of the white population generally, that the people have not up to the present been corrupted by "strong drink." Under the existing laws the present licences—twenty in number—may not be increased, but in the opinion of the Commissioners, power should be given to the Administration to grant new licences in exceptional circumstances, otherwise smuggling and illicit stills are sure to become prevalent.

There is nothing in these proposals that we can object to; indeed, there is much to commend. But we cannot help asking what is said about "the native question." How are the Papuans to fare under the new *régime*? The remarks made about the result of the Government methods are full of instruction. We cannot but admit that those responsible for the Government have succeeded in safeguarding native

rights, and this must not be lost sight of, whatever is done to encourage white settlement.

"The aboriginal population of the island ( ? possession) consists approximately of 300,000 or 400,000 split up into innumerable tribes and speaking many languages. They are to a greater or less extent agriculturalists and traders."

The white population is under 1,000 for the whole of British New Guinea, so there is plenty of room for a large increase.

"The Commissioners recognise that the question of European settlement is vitally interwoven with the native problem in all its aspects. Indeed, it cannot be too emphatically laid down that its successful future depends on the preservation of the native races, for the native is one of the best assets that Papua possesses (*sic*)."

The natives are said to be mainly "under Government control."

"Administrators have practically used all the powers of Government to giving the coastal tribes security for their lives and lands. This has meant intertribal peace, and so the native has no longer to build war canoes, and make weapons with primitive tools, nor to cultivate, not only for food supplies, but also for expeditions and for feasts, held prior to and after his forays. All this in the past made work a necessity, and so kept up the national stamina. At present the coastal native need only work to eat, and his wife does most of the little labour that suffices for his food supply. Government protection has plunged him into a condition of peaceful sloth."

All this points to the need for the immediate strengthening and development of industrial work by the Missions. Does it not also suggest a new sphere of investment for Christian capitalists? The Uganda Company Limited is, we understand, prospering, and there can be no doubt of the benefit conferred on the native population. Another company is working in Papua on similar lines, but there is room for more work of the same kind.

It is not to the credit of Christian business men that the exploitation of countries like Papua should too often be left in the hands of men who have little regard for the religious uplifting of the natives. The work of Missions



is rendered very difficult by the presence of the wrong sort of white men. On the other hand, they owe much to those white men who love mercy and deal justly with the natives. There are some such in Papua, as this report points out : but we wish to see the number increased.

We are not surprised to read, "As a consequence of trade tomahawks and knives, the native has stepped—in the short space of twenty years—from the stone to the iron age. This transition would have been too sudden, the gap to be bridged too wide, for beings of far more advanced mentality to have faced successfully. Naturally the Papuan has failed."

This failure is rightly attributed to the civil Government and the introduction of "civilisation" ; it is not in any way attributed to Missions.

Speaking again of the effect of "civilisation" they say, "The net result of hurling him into the iron period has been to render him more effeminate, and correspondingly indolent, and wanting in manly self-reliance. To awake the Papuan from this lotus-eater's dream is an imperative and immediate necessity, if he is to be saved from the fate of most aboriginal races."

The "Commissioners suggest the encouragement of white settlement as one of the surest and most practical methods of arresting the present indolent apathetic state into which Government and protection are sinking a race capable of a more useful and worthy destiny."

Critics of missionary methods have often accused us of doing more harm than good by our attempt to evangelise the people of a country like Papua. Here we have an eloquent confession that, with the best intentions, the result of British administration has been to enervate and enfeeble a native race so that the last state of "civilisation" leaves them worse than their original condition of savagery. Be it noted that there is no suggestion of giving up the attempt to benefit these fellow subjects of ours. We may differ from the Commissioners as to the means to be adopted, but like them we must go on. Missionaries, like the agents of the civil Government, have to confess to partial failures ; still, there can be no question of retreat for either party. They have some strong words





where they may find perfect freedom from the slavery of superstition.

A great deal has been said of late about the testimony borne to the value of Mission work amongst the heathen; from all parts of the world responsible Government officers have testified concerning what they know from personal knowledge of missionaries and their work. Is it not possible that we may be inclined to value this testimony too highly, and in so doing forget that we do not base our plea for the Evangelisation of the world on the favourable opinion of men, however good or eminent? The force of missionary call is not really affected by the praise or blame of men, to those who really understand it. Nevertheless, such expressions as may be found in a report like this commending Missions may have a value to some. Reading between the lines we can see clearly that our Missions are necessary for good government. As Bishop Stone-Wigg has said, "The establishment of a Civil administration bringing with it a governor, judge, magistrates, police, the building of offices, barracks and gaols, the introduction of capital punishment; interference with native customs, and forcibly bringing the inhabitants under our laws, punishing their resistance to the 'new customs' acting as a restraining and repressing force upon them from without; all this is obviously insufficient. It needs to be supplemented by the inward influence of the Church without which there will be no schools, no hospitals, nor sick nursing in the native villages, no appeal to higher than earthly functions. The Church alone can impart the deepest principles on which true social life is based and enable the empire to fulfil its full responsibilities."

The Commissioners wish to make the teaching of the English language compulsory in all Mission schools. They will find the missionaries quite willing to do all they can in this matter: but there are great difficulties in the way.

The idea of subsidising the Missions is rightly dismissed as impracticable; it is difficult to see, therefore, how any effective compulsion can be brought to bear. It is evident that in New Guinea the Church is the pioneer of education, and here we may see the beginnings of difficulties with which we are all too familiar in our own country. Let the

missionary take warning, and keep clear of "Education Acts."

No extravagant praise is given to Missions in the Report : we do not draw attention to it for that reason, but rather as an illustration of the way in which the Empire is extended, and of the methods by which the civil authority wishes to deal with the natives living on one of our Empire outposts. The result of an examination of the recommendations made by the Commissioners is to show that they have a high ideal of the functions of government and a praiseworthy desire to govern Papua in the interests of the Papuans, while not neglecting the material interests of the white settlers or the commercial advantage of Australia. And because we believe that there are other, and higher interests than these, which can only be safeguarded by the missionary, we must continue and increase our support of Missions in all such countries as Papua, and especially when we find the Civil Government anxious to work for the good of the people. It is an outpost of the Empire, and we have an interest in it as such : but an even greater interest in it as part of that Kingdom which knows no frontier.

W. R. MOUNSEY.

to go forth, be urged with anything like the force which once belonged to it. For years lady missionaries have been working with perfect safety from end to end of India, in the heart of Africa, in Uganda and Toro, in Palestine, Egypt and Japan, in Western Equatorial Africa and Sierra Leone. It is only in China, in its present chaotic condition of transition, that elements of danger still exist which are common to all foreigners. Even the dangerous pioneering of former days has almost ceased. The Moravian Mission stations at Leh, in Little Thibet, 11,500 feet above the sea, and at Kyelang, Lahoul, and elsewhere are vantage grounds for a future advance into Thibet. A new band of C.M.S. missionaries has already advanced along the Upper Nile, a thousand miles south of Khartoum, past Fashoda, to a point half-way between Khartoum and Mengo, the capital of Uganda. The heart of China has been penetrated by the China Inland Mission, and Mandarins are asking for copies of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, whilst Corea, since the late war, is "wide open."

In the presence of such facts as these one might look for a corresponding increase in the zeal and affection for the missionary cause of the great body of the laity of our Church. For our own Missions in South Africa, Chhota Nagpore, in Burma, in Borneo, in Uganda, in the Punjab, in Fuh-Kien, in Japan and New Zealand have fully shared the blessing which has so plentifully fallen in recent years upon other fields. The sober standards of our beloved Church in creed and worship and practice have proved themselves as acceptable to contrasted races as have Roman Catholic or Nonconformist standards. But, when we look below the surface, this expected increase of devotion and zeal is not yet discernible. Relatively, the laity are found lagging behindhand.

It is not that there is no interest or enthusiasm or self-sacrifice, for there is a good deal of each in certain quarters. It is not that our missionary returns are falling off. On the contrary, the income of the great Church societies still continues to increase, though not in correspondence with the increasing demands. The spirit of incredulity and contempt is gone, and is replaced by the much more dangerous spirit of a benevolent toleration which has ceased to be patronising.

But, relatively to the zeal of a nobler and more heroic past, relatively to the self-sacrifice which marked lay missionary supporters, say fifty years ago, relatively to the widened circle of missionary interest, relatively to the vastness and scope of the present missionary opportunity, relatively to the proved vindication of the missionary "experiment" which the past two hundred years have seen, relatively to the awakened spirit of Imperialism in all that concerns England's world-empire, and relatively to the increased missionary zeal of the clergy of to-day, the laity are not holding their pre-eminence of former days. It is with the desire to "provoke them to jealousy" at a moment when special opportunities are held out to them for co-operation in this work, that this article is written. For at the present moment they are the pivot upon which the whole realisation of the Church's true mission both at home and abroad turns.

Let us take the last and perhaps the least important of the above comparisons first. If we confine ourselves to the last century of Missions, because it corresponds with the period of awakened lay interest which led to the birth of so many of our great societies (though not, of course, to that of the S.P.G.), at its commencement we find the clergy as a body somewhat indifferent to the missionary enterprise. Both S.P.G. and C.M.S. owe much of their first origin to the enthusiasm of laymen. Robert Nelson and General Oglethorpe in the one case, the laymen of the "Clapham Sect" of Church evangelicals in the other, were largely influential in the first initiation of the modern missionary enterprise. So deep-rooted was the dread of "enthusiasm" which the evangelical revival had produced that the Primate of those days could only look upon the new missionary enterprise with a guarded approval which would not commit itself. Nearly a hundred years pass away and what a change has taken place! A Primate whose name will for ever be associated with the keenest and most devoted missionary interest gathers around him in conference 194 Bishops of the Anglican Communion from every part of the world, and, out of sixty-two important resolutions bearing upon every aspect of Church and national life, no less than fourteen, drawn up by the largest committee

But the most notable instance of what the Church owes in the mission field to her consecrated laymen is the story of Church Missions in the Punjab and along the whole North-West Frontier of India. It was the Punjab, then recently annexed, which saved India in the crisis of the Mutiny. It was the influence of two men in the main, John and Henry Lawrence, though others also deserve mention, which saved the Punjab. And those two men will for ever be remembered as pioneers of missionary work. It was Lord Lawrence who laid down the dictum which has since been a watchword for Christian officers and civilians in India, "Christian things, done in a Christian way, will never alienate the heathen. It is when unchristian things are done in the name of Christianity, or when Christian things are done in an unchristian way, that mischief and danger are occasioned." To a galaxy of names of those whose work lay in that vast North-West we owe the re-conquest and re-construction of India after the Mutiny. Name after name is associated with the foundation of the great Missions which stud the whole North-West Frontier of India with points of light, gleaming out into the darkness beyond, the morning stars of advancing day to Central Asia. It was a group of officers belonging to the army of victory, who, immediately after the annexation of the Punjab in 1849, put forth an appeal for a Mission there. One of them, Captain Martin, gave 10,000 rupees anonymously towards it. The first girls' school was built by Sir Henry Lawrence in memory of his wife. The Deputy Commissioner built the first Mission House, and Lord Napier (afterwards of Magdala) designed the School House. Multan was occupied at the suggestion of Sir Donald McLeod; Peshawur at that of Sir Herbert Edwardes, immediately upon his appointment there as Commissioner in 1853, and upon his return home he left his house as a present to the Mission. The previous Commissioner had replied to the request for a Mission with the words, "No missionary shall cross the Indus while I am Commissioner at Peshawur: do you want us all to be killed?" He was assassinated shortly after this refusal by an Afghan.

The spirit of that group of Punjab heroes of whom

Edwardes was the centre is well expressed in his own words: "We may be quite sure that we are much safer if we do our duty than if we neglect it; and that He who has brought us here with His own right hand will shield and bless us, if in simple reliance upon Him we try to do His will." To another layman, Sir William Muir, the Church owes her Mission in Allahabad. To Sir Henry Lawrence, Chief Commissioner of the province of Oudh, which that great viceroy, Lord Dalhousie, had annexed because of previous gross native misrule, she owes her Mission there. An anonymous gift of £1,000 from India followed the request for a Mission. On the reconquest of Oudh after the Mutiny, the request was immediately renewed by another Chief Commissioner, Sir Robert Montgomery, even before the Mutiny had died out. On the anniversary of the battle of Lucknow, whilst the guns were still firing in the distance, a meeting of officers and civilians was held at Lucknow which inaugurated the Mission there, and 5,000 rupees was subscribed. To the brave Reynell Taylor, then Commissioner of the Derajat, the Church owes her Mission in that region. He himself offered £1,000 towards its commencement and £100 as annual subscription, whilst Sir Robert Montgomery promised £100 each for three stations when taken up. Those stations—Dera Ismail Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan, and Bannu—form to-day links in the spiritual North-West Frontier of India. And, coupled with all this lay enthusiasm abroad, we must place that memorable despatch of 1854 from Sir Charles Wood at home which sanctioned grants in aid to schools giving definite religious instruction, whatever that instruction was—whether Christian, Mohammedan, or heathen—the Government confining itself to inspection and grants for secular teaching. This system, a twofold system of State secularisation coupled with full religious advantages to all religious communities, is still in force to-day.

One might illustrate this lay sympathy with missionary work almost equally from the work of S.P.G. and of C.M.S. If there is any difference in degree it arises from the fact that the older society had to plant its earlier Missions in the most barren years of the eighteenth century,

when neither the evangelical Revival nor the Oxford Movement had quickened lay sympathy or zeal. It occupied the splendid post of pioneer in a work to which the Church as a whole had not yet been aroused. But its later Missions bear the same witness. Laymen appealed for a Mission to Nova Scotia. The leading laymen of Bombay, official and otherwise, headed by the Governor, the Judges, and the Commander-in-Chief, joined with the clergy and officers in forming the first S.P.G. Committee in all India on Whitsunday, 1825. It was a proposal from Major Jenkins, Government Commissioner in India, for a Mission to the wild hill-tribes of Assam which led to the occupation of that vast province of thicket, river swamp, and jungle. The romantic story of "Rajah Brooke's" connection with Borneo and Sarawak is well known. As a naval cadet he determined to suppress piracy and slavery in these waters, and, after eight years' preparation and inquiry, he sailed from England in a yacht fitted at his own expense, with a crew who had received long and special training for the work before them. Landing a mere stranger, he so rapidly won the trust and affection of the natives by his tact and philanthropy that in 1842 he became Rajah of the province of Sarawak, and one of his first acts was to appeal for a Mission. A Church Mission Institution for the evangelisation of the island of Borneo and the adjacent countries, under the headship of the Earl of Ellesmere, came to his help for a time, and in 1853 the S.P.G. took over the entire charge and cost of the Mission.

These illustrations from the past will suffice to show the important part which has been played by laymen in the inauguration of Missions. But the actual maintenance of the Mission, not only financially but in more important ways, belongs also to them. The influence so sorely needed at home to further the necessary developments of a missionary Church depends for success largely upon laymen. For example, the Church has sometimes lost precious opportunities owing to an apathy in higher lay circles which their enthusiasm may remove. The present condition of the Colonial Episcopate leaves, after a century of struggle, very much to be desired. "During the last sixty years the Church of England in India has been

allowed only six additional bishoprics. Fifty-two years ago the Roman Catholics had no fewer than ten bishops in Southern India alone; the Church of England in 1900 had only nine bishoprics in the whole of India." The same short-sighted policy which Archbishop Secker and Bishop Lowth condemned in the latter half of the eighteenth century, and which perhaps contributed to the final separation of the United States from the Mother Country, still continues in India, for lack of an effective lay protest. Again, the lay attitude towards Church Missions, in Parliament and in Colonial and Foreign administration, needs to be strengthened by the cordial and united support of such a representative body as the House of Laymen. In that House lies a great and growing power for the cause of Missions in the near future. If its utterances are wise and statesmanlike, and if the spirit of unity and earnestness in regard to the Church's world-wide call and opportunity prevail in its counsels, it can speak with a representative voice for the laity of the whole home Church which must command attention. Its action can not only aid in removing hindrances from which the Church has hitherto suffered, but also quicken enthusiasm and give birth to new projects for advance.

One cause of present apathy which needs to be removed is a failure to realise, in the words of the Report of the Lambeth Conference of 1897, that "the cause of Missions is the cause of our Lord Jesus Christ." It is most unfortunate and misleading that the very word we use to express this obligation is a word which, being plural, fails to emphasise the unity and solidarity of the whole task set before the Church, and seems rather to call attention to isolated, fragmentary, and individualistic efforts. Strictly speaking, the "Ecclesia" and the "Mission" are two aspects only of one and the same Divine Life among men (St. John xx. 21-23). The catholicity of the Church is a characteristic of her existence, so vital that the twofold struggle against Judaism and the world-empire which marked the first period of her existence turned in each case upon her refusal to yield this one point. Rather than yield it she poured out her blood freely, and so became the universal Church and the universal kingdom. The emphasis



of the true scope of the Church's calling, brought home by the Oxford Movement, has expressed itself thus far in other directions rather than in her social and missionary work. The Church as a whole still needs to be awakened, as Archbishop Temple used to urge, to her world-wide missionary responsibility. Such interest of the laity as we have seen hitherto has been individualistic rather than corporate. Men need yet to realise the enormous strength to be gained from Church fellowship in the fullest sense. Then we shall see the mightiest missionary movement that the Church has ever known.

Another cause of apathy on the part of the laity may be found in a certain "depression" of lay influence during recent years. With the increased activity of the clergy there has been a certain tendency on the part of the laity to retire modestly into the background, and to leave the work of organisation, both at home and abroad, to hands willing to receive it. It is not only at Rome that human nature clings (to its own spiritual detriment) to the "temporal power." We need the reaffirmation, at the beginning of this new century, of the fact that, side by side with missionary zeal as such, there is a zeal needed among the laity "for discharging the temporal and lay offices necessary for the evangelisation of the heathen." There is a part in missionary work which belongs to laymen as such, and it is foolish and short-sighted to diminish or straiten its scope.

Another difficulty which we have to confront is the failure to appreciate the lessons taught us by Church history, and so to mark how vital, not only for the Church, but for the Empire, is the success of the Mission. No one has a better right to speak with authority of the future of China than Sir Robert Hart, and he foresees that ere long 20,000,000 of armed and patriotic Boxers will become a peril to the world's future, unless the partition of China avert this result, which, at present, he declares "impracticable." But he adds another alternative: "or a miraculous spread of Christianity in its best form—a not impossible but scarcely to be hoped for religious triumph." That would save the future. How far have our rulers considered this when they speak of Missions as an imperial danger? There are disintegrating forces at work within our own

Empire also, which, in the end, will accomplish its destruction, unless some mightier reconstructive principle overcome them. That principle is found in Christianity, and in Christianity alone. In the Roman Empire it became necessary to set up, apart from all local deities, a universal cult, which should become the secret of imperial unity. That cult was the worship of the Emperors. It was this which caused the bitter, age-long contention with Christianity. "You worship Cæsar," cried Tertullian, "with greater awe than you worship the Olympian Jove himself." But the deification of the Emperor failed ; it prepared the way for the sovereignty of Christ. In that new faith the Empire found salvation and unity. It is the same still, with an even wider and more diverse empire. Christianity is its only unifying principle. All else hastens to ultimate dissolution and decay. This forms the pivot of a perpetual advance.

T. A. GURNEY.

impression that he can free himself of fetters and do as he likes, and finding to his disgust that he is expected still to conform to rules and to do his daily work. A few weeks or months go by, and he has imbibed a little instruction, caught up a few phrases, and mastered some popular hymns ; but his teachers have not thought him fit for baptism, and he has given them an infinite amount of trouble.

"Then he goes off: the mission is not what he wanted, and he is tired of its restraint. He has acquired a pair of trousers and a few odds and ends of European clothing, and he describes himself as a school Kaffir. In the situation he gets he shows himself no more industrious or trustworthy than he was before, and all his faults are laid to the account of the missions where he lived for a while. '*But he was not a Christian.*'"<sup>1</sup>

No. 2 is likewise outside the missionary's jurisdiction. Mission services are open to any and all, and an occasional or even regular attendance at these does not necessarily mean that the native accepts, or wishes to accept, the doctrinal or moral teaching of Christianity. The writer has noticed natives who have attended services most regularly for twelve months, and yet had no desire to be placed on the list of "Hearers," the first step towards a definite acknowledgment of the Christian faith. In spite of this, the mere fact of their attending services stamped them, in the eyes of many Europeans, as Christian natives, and many of their faults and failings were laid to the charge of the mission which had "spoilt" them.

No. 3, by his existence, is surely an answer to our critics! If the Church makes "the mistake" of converting natives, she also, by her discipline, punishes where sin is proved. What many critics consider "only natural" on the part of the native, the Church considers unnatural, and punishes accordingly. Church discipline is administered in our missions to an extent undreamt of by the average European. Even venial sins, when detected, are corrected ; many missionaries have spent much valuable time in sifting the evidence against servants of general misbehaviour towards employers. We have no hesitation in saying that the average missionary is a veritable "father" to his native

<sup>1</sup> This description applies perhaps more correctly *in detail* to a native who attended a mission school in a native territory where the age limit is not enforced as strictly as in the Orange River Colony.

flock, checking, correcting, and encouraging his children. Europeans must, however, remember that even a white skin does not render the fortunate possessor infallible. It is within the bounds of possibility that a European may not quite understand the native, and so misjudge a servant; and the missionary needs to exercise impartial judgment, and not condemn upon white evidence only.

No. 4 is left—the native who is baptized and a communicant. Here we acknowledge our responsibility. What are our methods? What is this process by which the native is spoilt? The first step which a native desirous of embracing Christianity has to take is to enter the “Hearers’ class.” Here he is instructed in the rudiments of the Christian faith. Very simply, in the course of a few weeks, are the bare facts of the truth, with their corresponding obligations, placed before him. If he expresses a desire to be further instructed, and the missionary, taking into consideration his regular attendance and general behaviour, judges that he is in earnest, he is permitted to take the next step. At a special service he is solemnly admitted to the catechuminate, and then attends for at least a year the catechumens’ class. In this he is carefully instructed in the Catechism. His baptism is dependent upon signs of real earnest endeavour to understand *and practise* that which has been taught. Any sign of lukewarmness, any sign of departure from the path of virtue, is carefully noted, and often his baptism is postponed. The devoted anxious care bestowed by the missionary upon his candidates for Holy Baptism, the patient interest taken in each individual case, his prayers and intercessions on their behalf, would amaze critics at home. For years before the writer undertook native work he beheld the loving care of those who for years had “borne the burden and heat of the day”; men whose lives disarmed criticism; whose converts were acknowledged, even by those frequently opposed to missions, as “decent Christian Kaffirs.”

After Baptism comes Confirmation, sometimes with only a short interval, at other times a long one. But, whether the interval be short or long, the preparation and instruction are continued. The same occurs after Confirmation and prior to the first reception of the Holy

Communion ; and after this every effort is made to continue careful instruction and to keep in close personal contact with the communicant. He is encouraged to look upon the missionary as his spiritual father, and to come to him in all things for advice and counsel. And very quaint are the questions which he is sometimes asked to decide !

What portion of this preparation tends to "spoil" the native? This question was once put to a critic, and he replied, "Oh, I don't know ; but it's done." Scarcely a satisfactory answer.

Now the whole fact of the matter is this. Natives, as servants, whether heathen or Christian, can be, and generally are, very trying to the temper of a European. In the case of a heathen we more or less make up our minds to "make the best of a bad bargain." But with a Christian we expect something more. In "A Question of Colour" the writer, in referring to this question, says : "No one is deterred from passing judgment by the fact that his own life is not eminent in those Christian virtues which he expects to see so abundantly shown forth in the life of his dark brother." There lies the secret. We do undoubtedly demand from the native Christian a relatively higher standard of moral proficiency than from the white servant. We say "relatively" because the native is in his infancy, whereas the white servant has 1,500 years of civilisation and Christianity behind him. A few months' residence in England, bringing with it the laments of mistresses over the servant question, proves that, after all, servants, white or black, as servants, are not very distantly related in the matter of perfection. If "spoiling" the native means that we have not instilled into our Christian converts the love of work for work's sake, then we must plead guilty.

The native does not love work : he has a very strong inclination to perform duties when he thinks fit, and also in the manner which he considers desirable. It is scarcely necessary to state that in most cases the employer's ideas as to time and style rarely coincide with those of the native ! In some ways we are prepared to admit that the Christian native is more trying than his heathen brother. The former, at times, labours under the delusion that he

ought to attend a service at a certain time, irrespective of his duty towards his employer. Misunderstandings arise in this way. Notice is given in church of a special service, and a hope is expressed that as many as possible will attend. The native interprets this as a personal invitation which he feels bound to accept at any cost. Work is scamped or left undone, with the result that the frequently overworked colonial housewife, or the farmer, worried beyond measure by drought, locusts, or hailstorms, finds things all wrong. The culprit returns, and excuses himself on the ground that "the minister told him to go." It is not surprising if the minister is reproached the next time he meets his irate parishioners.

Even missionaries are not exempt from these and similar trials at the hands of their native converts. It is somewhat disconcerting, and hardly conducive to the welfare and peace of a household, to have your servants suddenly depart. The excuse is that they are tired, and want a rest at the kraal. These attacks of tiredness occur, as a rule, the day after they have received their month's wages. The departing servants may quite possibly be candidates for Confirmation, into whose minds the Church Catechism, with its especial emphasis upon the duty of servants to employers, has been instilled by the victim.

Native Christians can be most exasperating; and when one is smarting under their trying conduct it is very difficult to look at the whole question calmly and fairly. We are apt to allow these personal grievances to blur our outlook upon the general effect of Christianity upon the native races as a whole. Individual experiences of heathen natives who prove trustworthy hard-working servants—individual experiences of Christian natives who prove the reverse, or *vice versa*—do not afford sufficient data upon which to form an impartial judgment. Neither would we accept as a basis for this judgment the opinion of missionaries only. It is no discredit to the zealous missionary, devoted to his work and his flock, to say that he is biassed. To say, as some do, that all missionaries consider the natives angels, in the guise of black human beings, is absurd. They are in all probability far better acquainted with the faults and failings of the native than the critic.

But the knowledge that their work entails criticism and often coolness on the part of the European tends to bias their opinion. Fortunately there exists a definite expression of opinion upon this subject from men whom their greatest enemies would scarcely dare to accuse of negro-philism.

"The South African Commission upon Native Affairs" was constituted in 1903, and issued its report in 1905. The greatest care and patience was exercised by the members of this Commission, and its report may be relied upon as impartial. It was, moreover, founded upon an enormous mass of evidence taken in all parts of South Africa, and given by all kinds of people. And what do the Commissioners say?

"For the moral improvement of the natives there is available no influence equal to that of religious belief.

"The Commission considers that the restraints of the law furnish an inadequate check upon the tendency towards demoralisation, and that no merely secular system of morality that might be applied would serve to raise the natives' ideals of conduct or to counteract the evil influences which have been alluded to,<sup>1</sup> and is of opinion that hope for the elevation of the native races must depend mainly on their acceptance of Christian faith and morals.

"By admission to Christian households, and by the example of the uprightness and purity of many of those around them, a large number of natives have doubtless been brought under improving influences, but to the Churches engaged in mission work must be given the greater measure of credit for placing systematically before the natives these higher standards of belief and conduct. It is true that the conduct of many converts to Christianity is not all that could be desired, and that the native Christian does not appear to escape at once and entirely from certain besetting sins of his nature; but, nevertheless, the weight of evidence is in favour of the improved morality of the Christian section of the population, and to the effect that there appears to be in the native mind no inherent incapacity to apprehend the truths of Christian teaching or to adopt Christian morals as a standard.

"It does not seem practicable to propose any measure of material support or aid to the purely spiritual side of missionary enterprise, but the Commission recommends full recognition of the utility of the work of the Churches which have undertaken the duty of evangelising the heathen, and has adopted the following resolution:

<sup>1</sup> Sexual immorality, intemperance, and dishonesty.

"(a) The Commission is satisfied that one great element for the civilisation of the natives is to be found in Christianity.

"(b) The Commission is of opinion that regular moral and religious instruction should be given in all native schools."

This short extract from the report of a most impartial and experienced authority proves that—

1. There is nothing to equal religious belief for the moral improvement of the native.

2. That, in spite of many failures, the Christian section of the native population shows improved morality.

3. That the utility of missionary work should be fully recognised.

The first answers the question not only of the critic, but of the friend of missions: "Why do you undertake more than you can supervise?"

Consider, in the first place, the size of a South African parish. Technically a parish consists of a municipal area; practically it comprises a magisterial district, with, perhaps, the additional moral responsibility of another adjoining, nearly as large, where there is no priest. For the sake of simplicity, and not as a unique or specially interesting case, we will take that of Vrede. The actual municipal area is not large, the number of inhabitants is small, but the magisterial district of Vrede covers an area of 2,200 square miles. Scattered all over this district are farms upon which four, eight, twelve, or even more, native families live. Christianity is introduced into one of the kraals by, perhaps, a member of the family who, with the farmer's permission, has been away during the quiet season in some town earning extra money as a domestic servant, or working in a store. He has possibly taken the first two steps and been a "Hearer" and catechumen, and is naturally anxious to complete his instruction.

In another instance a new native family arrives—a Christian family, which not only desires ministrations, but at once begins to disseminate Christian teaching—for the native is an ardent propagandist.

In either case, at the first opportunity, a deputation waits upon the "white minister" with a request for spiritual instruction. They live possibly six hours' journey by cart from a town. What is the priest to do? He knows that



God has given us, the responsibility for that failure will rest upon the Church as a whole.

Do not let us be led astray by the statement, "Charity begins at home; help your own brethren first." By supporting native work we are helping "our own brethren" in a practical way, although the next generation will reap the harvest of that assistance. The native population vastly outnumbers the white in South Africa, and is increasing rapidly at a much larger ratio. The whites are already outnumbered by five to one. If by missionary effort we are able to produce an "improved morality" amongst this vast population; if, through our schools, we are able to produce better and more carefully trained servants; if we are able to make the preponderating population quiet, peaceful subjects, and so destroy the fear of a native rising, which, rightly or wrongly, seems ever present to many a white person's mind—are we not materially assisting our own brethren?

The Bishop of Natal, in a charge to his diocesan synod, when referring to the recent troubles in Zululand, stated that the native Christians "have been, almost without exception, on the side of law and order. While others in neighbouring districts have been disaffected, they have gone on with their quiet routine of service and work. It ought to be known that Mehlokazulu was unable to take more than a third or fourth part of his tribe into the field, because the remainder, being Christians, refused to take up arms against the Government. Of 5,000 of our Church natives in one affected district only, the information which I have goes to show that not more than fifteen joined the rebel force."

The Church, as the herald and forerunner of our Lord's second Advent, has her orders: "Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God." From the Cape to the Zambesi there are, alas! only too many "crooked places" to be made straight and "rough places plain" before "the desert can rejoice and blossom as the rose." But we who live in the country and work amongst the natives also know that, in spite of all the uncertainty and difficulty of the present, that "desert" will "blossom abundantly."

A. C. READ.

## ITEMS OF WORK IN SOUTH INDIA.

THE difference between a Christian and a pagan can often be discerned by studying the countenances of the people. This fact has frequently been commented upon by visitors from Europe to South India, and what wonder when we know that the ideals of Christian life and its environments make for virtue and purity, whilst the teaching and surroundings of Hinduism are too often filthy and obscene. In proof of this it is only necessary to allude to the HOLI festival in India and the presence of dancing girls at all the great Hindu pagodas—the shrines of Indian piety—where drawings and sculptures of a revolting nature are daily before the eyes of the devotees. It is not strange that even children's minds are affected, and that the face, as the index of the mind, bears the imprint of the powers of darkness.

Mr. Meredith Townsend writes :

"The missionary, like the educationist, cannot resist the desire to make his people English, to teach them English literature, English science, English knowledge. . . . He wants to saturate Easterns with the West. . . . It is the very test of Christianity that it can adapt itself to all civilisations and improve all ; and the true native Churches of India will no more be like the Reformed Churches of Europe than the Churches of Yorkshire are like the Churches of Asia Minor. . . . Natives of India, when they are Christians, will be, and ought to be, Asiatics still ; and the efforts to squeeze them into European moulds not only wastes power but destroys the vitality of the original material."<sup>1</sup>

Dr. J. P. Jones, a missionary of long experience in South India, writes :

"There is danger to-day, and it is inevitable that missionaries from the West should be too ambitious to occidentalise the native

<sup>1</sup> *Asia and Europe*, p. 78.

Christian community, ignorant of, or indifferent to, the grand possibilities of thought and of life which lie in Eastern character and teaching. It is much easier to thrust upon them everything Western than it is to appreciate and to conserve many things Eastern. The future missionary will learn wisdom from the past, and will enter upon his work with less depreciation of things Oriental, and with a large desire to conserve to the utmost Eastern habits of thought and social customs, so long as, and so far as, they can be made the vehicles of Christian thought and the channels of Christian life. Herein must lie the best means for a speedy coming of the Kingdom of CHRIST in India."<sup>1</sup>

In an article written by Mr. Sharrock in *THE EAST AND THE WEST* for October 1906, referring to the accessions after the great famine in South India, he states :

"In a period of two years or so, no fewer than 40,000 Shanars and other Sudras were received into the Church of England. The total number of baptized Christians leapt up close to 100,000. Again the movement suddenly stopped, and the figures, according to the 1901 census, now stand at only 76,483. . . . One has a right to expect continuous progress in the Church itself, and at least not utter stagnation."

This statement is seriously misleading. The figures, as given by Bishop Caldwell himself, were<sup>2</sup>—"baptized, 59,203, unbaptized, 38,402; total of baptized and unbaptized, 97,605." Mr. Sharrock failed to distinguish between the baptized and the catechumens. It is true that a large number of those who put themselves under Christian instruction lapsed, but most of them were never baptized. It is also true that a large number remained faithful, and are so to this day, and that in place of the 59,203 baptized Christians recorded by Bishop Caldwell in 1879 there are now 84,819. This is far from indicating "apathy and stagnation."

Whilst on the subject of statistics it is of importance to observe that in a population of 297 millions in India, Burma, and Ceylon, there are over three and a quarter millions of Christians (including Roman Catholics and Syrians). Working amongst these, there are only 1,314

<sup>1</sup> *Krishna or CHRIST*, p. 141.

<sup>2</sup> *Reminiscences of Bishop Caldwell*, by the Rev. J. L. Wyatt, p. 161.

foreign clergy and lay-missionaries. The wonder is that with so few white labourers so much, not so little, has been done. But we must confine this paper to a consideration of the Missions in South India. The Bishop of Madras, referring to evangelistic work in South India, sums up the situation by remarking that "when the converts have been gathered in, the most difficult part of the work begins—a work that requires the greatest patience, wisdom, and firmness."<sup>1</sup> It is just this lack of patience and sympathy and forbearance that leads men to limit the power and influence of the Holy Spirit when working amongst non-European races.

"The older I become the more optimistic I am; in fact, I am becoming riotously optimistic," is the testimony of a South Indian missionary of forty years' experience, the Rev. J. Duthie, of Travancore. The last census of India attracted the attention of the Viceroy, who remarked that "the Christian community can no longer be regarded as a negligible quantity, but it is a distinct ethnological wedge effecting a cleavage in India." The census record showed that, whereas the Hindu community of the Madras Presidency had increased 6 per cent. in the last decade, the Christian community had advanced 18 per cent.; that whereas 18 per cent. of the Hindus knew how to read and write, 30 per cent. of the Christians did so; and that 10 per cent. of the Christians knew English, whereas not 1 per cent. of the Hindus possessed this knowledge. The latest Government returns for Southern India, where the largest and the most promising Christian Missions are found, show that there is one criminal Hindu in 447 of the population, whereas amongst Christians there is only one in 2,500; so that if all the people in the Madras Presidency were Christians, there would be 12,000 criminals less every year, and most of the gaols could be closed.<sup>2</sup>

In this Christian population there are 139,877 native Christians connected with the Church of England. Keshab Chunder Sen, a Hindu, but not a Christian, said: "None but JESUS is worthy to wear the diadem of India, and *He shall have it.*" Thus it is we find that the Christian

<sup>1</sup> THE EAST AND THE WEST for January 1907.

<sup>2</sup> *The Church Abroad*, February 1907, p. 16.

community is to-day exercising an influence on social and religious questions in India out of all proportion to its numerical strength.

A striking testimony to the reality of Christian life in South India in general, and in Tinnevely in particular, was recently given by a member of the Indian Civil Service, who made the following remarks in his judgment when a Hindu Government official was tried and condemned for attempting to levy blackmail from our Nazareth Christians :

" I feel constrained to remark that the demeanour and manner of telling their story of all the three Christian witnesses impressed me most favourably. And amidst all the angry prejudices that prevail, it is only fair to remember that whilst amongst many good Brahmins a lie for a good object is undoubtedly sometimes deemed, at the very least, a very pardonable sin, or, rather, even allowable, Protestant Christians are taught by English clergymen that even the least white lie, if wilful, renders the liar liable to the most undesirable anger of the God of truth ; and that if unrepented of, it places the liar in the position of one condemned to future punishment, as well as under the ban of the Church. I feel less hesitation in making these remarks, as I am myself avowedly what is commonly called by Protestant clergymen an infidel, or unbeliever. But there can be no doubt that telling a lie, on any pretext, is regarded by English Protestant gentlemen as is eating beef by a Brahmin."

A similar testimony is quoted by Dr. J. P. Jones, of Madura, who says :

" A few years ago an English barrister complained to me of certain Christian witnesses who had given evidence in a case. ' I hate to have your Christians as witnesses in any of my cases,' said he, ' for whenever they venture to give false evidence, they instantly falter and stumble, and are caught by the opposing counsel. A Hindu, when he gives false evidence, will tell a straight and a plausible story ; but your Christians are too much affected by twinges of conscience.' "<sup>1</sup>

The Indian Missionary Society of Tinnevely has been in existence for three years. It has sent two native missionaries to the Telugu country, and is supported entirely from money provided by the Christians of Tinnevely. For more than a quarter of a century, clergymen

<sup>1</sup> *Krishna or CHRIST*, p. 134.

and other Mission workers from Tinnevely have been employed in Ceylon, the Straits, Mauritius, and South Africa, whilst there is scarcely a college or high school in the Madras Presidency without its Christian masters from Tinnevely; its girls, also, are to be found in numerous schools, employed as trained teachers; some of its girls are, too, in South Africa. At the present time there are no fewer than eight workers from there employed in Natal, of whom two are clergymen. Southern India, for many years, has also provided Indian clergy for Bombay, Poona, Chanda, Mysore, and Madagascar, and teachers for Calcutta, Ahmednagar, Rangoon, Mandalay, and other remote places, most of whom are from Tinnevely or from Tanjore. The Indian Church has, therefore, been sending forth missionaries for many years, and the only distinctive characteristic of the movement recently inaugurated in Tinnevely is, that it provides the salaries of its own men, which hitherto has not been done.

Signs of life are encouraging, and give stimulus and joy to the workers; but it is not for those who sow the seed to fix the increase.

There are seven hospitals or dispensaries in connection with the S.P.G. Mission in Tinnevely, in which 40,000 new cases are treated every year, regardless of caste and creed. This philanthropic work has been going on for thirty-seven years, and the results are to be seen amongst all classes of the country-side. The Government, recognising the valuable agency of these Mission dispensaries, give substantial grants-in-aid every year towards the staff and medicines. The Rev. John M. Strachan, M.D., afterwards Bishop of Rangoon, founded St. Luke's Hospital, at Nazareth, where 13,000 sick annually are treated. Many Hindus and others receive their first impressions of JESUS of Nazareth when they are ill, and when their heathen friends are not always willing to help them.

Two small churches have been recently built in two villages, and they were dedicated last month. Their cost has been £353, of which all but £45 was provided by the congregations themselves. The average income of these villagers is £6 a year. What English village congregations would provide as much?

There are various modes of increasing the alms of the Church, and one most popular all over South India is for Christian women to put a handful of rice into a small basket kept in the house for the Church every time a meal is prepared, the amount thus collected being offered in the Church once a month. This serves the double purpose of reminding people that it is God who provides them with sustenance, and that it is their duty to give back to Him some portion of what they have received. The annual offerings of the Christians in Tinnevely vary from 6 to 12 annas per head per annum of each baptized man, woman, and child. The average may be taken as not less than 9 annas (*i.e.* 9*d.*) per head. The monthly income of these people is  $7\frac{1}{2}$  rupees (or 12*s.* 6*d.*), and upon this sum a whole family will live for a month. The sum of 9 annas represents the price of a little more than two days' food for the year for each member of the family, and this is the lowest rate.

How many Christians in Europe contribute to the Church two days' income in the year for every man, woman, and child in each household?

Perhaps the most important sign of progress in a foreign Mission is afforded when a complete tract of country and section of the work is entirely administered by indigenous agency. The experiment has been tried, with varying success, in different parts of the world, and at the present moment in Tinnevely the Mission, which was for forty years the home of the late Bishop Caldwell, and an adjacent Mission also, is in charge of an Indian priest.

Obedience, faithful service, patriotism and loyalty have always been taught by the missionaries in South India; and this has recently borne fruit in a practical way, and several of our Christian lads from Tinnevely are now soldiers of the King and are serving under the colours in the 83rd Regiment at Bellary. The colonel reports of them: "These recruits are getting on very well in their work, and show great intelligence, and are likely to make very good soldiers." They are all Christians, and the Government has decided to try the experiment of having one company of native Christians in each of the twelve regiments of the Madras Army.

The increase in the number of Christians in Tinnevely is partly controlled by emigration to Ceylon and to the Straits, where Tamil people congregate in great numbers, and are there ministered to by clergymen who speak their own language. In comparing statistics, it is of importance to remember that our numbers are not stationary, and that all along the Coromandel coast every year thousands of coolies find their way to Ceylon, to work there on the tea-estates. In this way the officer in charge of emigrants reports that from Tinnevely and Madura alone 24,091 coolies passed through the port of Tuticorin in 1906. These men and women join the Tamil Coolie Mission in Ceylon, and are well looked after, but they are a loss to the number of our congregations in Tinnevely. In the case of mass movements towards Christianity, when adherents join from various mixed motives, a large number of adherents come to Christianity *en bloc* and are apt to leave in the same way. After the great famine of 1876-77, there were 40,000 catechumens, the vast majority of whom were never baptized, and many of them gradually withdrew from Christian instruction. In some congregations their names were retained on the Church registers for a considerable time, but owing to a stringent revision of the registers and the exercise of discipline there has been an annual falling off for some time in the number of accessions, which has only within the last few years touched bottom. The decrease, therefore, in numbers in recent years must be attributed chiefly to emigration and to the exercise of stricter discipline; and all that can be said in explanation is that, even if proper and sufficient "shepherding" had been provided, it would only have been reasonable to expect a large number of lapses in a mass movement amongst 40,000 illiterate country yokels, such as those were who joined the Mission in 1876. Bishop Caldwell, with his fifty years' experience of Indian character, wrote of these new adherents twelve years subsequently (1888):

"We never supposed for a moment that all these new people would be likely to remain steadfast to the end of their lives. We called them not 'conversions,' but 'accessions.' We fully expected that some of these, at least, would get tired in time of some of



the restraints of their new faith, and return to their old ways. . . . We call them in these parts still, as we have always called them, 'persons who have placed themselves under Christian instruction.'

Apart from other considerations, there can be little doubt that Church Missions in South India have all suffered greatly from the fact that the foundations were not sufficiently carefully laid, and that heathen caste-feeling and other evils have been allowed to grow together like tares with God's wheat in the Indian Mission field. These evils are not to be minimised, nor may they be exaggerated.

In connection with this comes the question of native social customs and Mission polity. On one of his tours in the Telugu country in 1905 the Bishop of Madras was told by the Mission workers of "the great encouragement given by the large number of converts, the increased contributions of the Christians, and the liberal help given in some cases, even by Hindus, towards the building of prayer-houses." The Bishop went on to say, "when I asked what were the chief hindrances to the work, they were all unanimous that it was the forbidding of music at weddings—the catechists and teachers were unanimous in declaring that at Christian weddings the musicians were all Christians, that there was no necessary connection between music and drinking or Hindu ceremonies, and that the people felt it a great hardship to be deprived of their one means of making themselves cheerful." The Bishop sympathetically added: "The incident illustrates the care needed in dealing with the customs of the people that are in themselves harmless, and, I may add, the solidarity of human nature."

"I understand that you have a large orphanage for boys and girls. Can you supply me with a cook on 10 rupees (13s. 4d.) a month? and my wife wants a young woman, who knows English, as her ayah." This is the kind of application frequently received by a missionary; and when the reply is in the negative, the answer which the missionary receives is, "Of what use are Missions and missionaries unless they can supply Europeans with cooks and nurses?" With John Bull, anything that contributes

to his gastronomic satisfaction and household comfort is a success; but the ideals of Mission work do not run exactly on this plane, and therefore it is a failure! The flesh-pots of Egypt were answerable for forty years' wanderings in the desert.

Dr. Jones, of Madura, who has already been quoted, writes :

"From my experience, I am convinced that the living hand of Christianity is laid with power upon Hinduism, rather than that 'the dead hand of Hinduism is over the Christian Church.' The way that Hinduism is being changed before our very eyes, the deep currents of influence that pass through all departments of society and life in this land, and which are directly traceable to Christianity, the changing ideals of the people, and the ethical transformations that can be easily recognised—all these, and much more, assure me that Christianity is not moribund in this land : it is a real, a living force."

There are many signs of vitality and vigour which, in the Missions in South India, cannot be overlooked; and although the day for large accessions seems to have gone by, the numbers show signs of increase, and the substantial increase in the contributions of the people deserves special notice and commendation. All the largest congregations in Tinnevely are entirely self-supporting, and if the Europeans were removed to-morrow many of the chief Christian communities would supply all their own funds. May we not thank God and take courage?

ARTHUR MARGÜSCHIS.

## SOME ASPECTS OF EASTERN CHRISTIANITY.

EVERYONE who has visited or studied the East has been impressed, and not a few have been attracted, by the obvious contrast with the West, and yet how difficult is it to define wherein that contrast really lies!

The history of the East shows how the movements of great hordes have marked epochs of conquest or conversion; and these movements may be contrasted with the course of individual effort and national expansion in the West. The keynote of Western political history is the progress of organised liberty, whether for the nation or the individual. In the East it might almost be said that there is no progress, no ideal of liberty, no idea of organic association. There are obvious exceptions, but as a broad generalisation the statement would represent the truth. For instance, in the West the ideal of politics is that each individual should be able to fulfil his work or his function perfectly, and in such a way as to benefit both himself and the State. This is very different from the Eastern idea. There, individuals are mere items: one may be eminent, another obscure; but each is counted only for what he is in himself as a unit, and not for any relation that he bears to the whole; there are only two classes, the ruled and the ruler, and the former exists as a mob for the benefit of the latter.

It is obvious that the opportunity given by this state of society for individuals to gain fame or power is very great: for the masses are instruments accustomed to be used for the benefit of others, and therefore easy to deal with and subdue; but it seems unquestionable that the highest

genius will attain greater heights from being part of a society where the level of life is higher and more organised, not only because the whole level of life is higher, but because greater effort is needed for success.

Again, toleration, as known in the West, is incomprehensible or abhorrent to the East. In an organised society, where men have secured their individual rights, men have learned to be tolerant, for only by this means can the social machine work smoothly. But in the East truth is regarded as something imposed, to which men must submit because it is so ordained. This fact explains in part the rigidity of sectarianism in the East. Men are mere items in a crowd, and each crowd is held together by external force, not by any inner bond, and is separated from every other crowd. Hence we have the curious spectacle of strong sectarianism combined with a disinclination to proselytise, and want of interest in the affairs or beliefs of other sects.

The family or tribal basis of society is a feature of all social life; no Brutus must be looked for in the East, impartiality between a man's relations and strangers would be a crime.

In this connection we have to note the absence of any adequate idea of conscience. The word as we understand it is not properly translatable into Arabic: in Old Syriac there is no word except that for knowledge or thought, "scientia" rather than "conscientia," whereas in vernacular Syriac there is no word at all, and "mind" or "intention" has to be used instead.

We find generally that Easterns obey because they must, rather than because they ought: the command comes from without rather than from within: judgment is given from prudential considerations rather than because of what the conscience says ought to be done. The Easterns are more logical than we are, hence they become either fatalists or dualists. From another point of view, while Westerns have learned to regard what is right as being right in itself, and therefore eternally right, the Eastern regards what exists at the moment as right: law must be obeyed because a higher and more powerful authority than himself commands it.

This absence of an absolute distinction between right and wrong is most clearly seen when we come to consider the religious beliefs of the common people throughout the East. But at the outset we are met by the difficulty of discovering what is a people's real belief. Japan, we are told, has three religions : one for daily life, one for national purposes, a third for special emergencies. Real Buddhism, it is said, is practised and believed nowhere in the world, not even in Tibet. No one seems able to say what a Hindu believes : and it is extremely doubtful whether even the teaching of Islam, apart from its polity, holds anything like the sway over men's consciences that is supposed.

In his book on Tibet the Special Correspondent of the *Times* sums up his impressions of the religion of Tibet thus : "These (the tutelary deities whose figures surround every image of Buddha) are the gods of the common people of Tibet. The mild-eyed Buddha is to them only a vague means of escape from the tyranny of these loathsome and misshapen monsters, aureoled with the fire of hell, who with dripping rags and beastly deformities are far more present and practical than their master. . . . It is probable that the passer-by rarely asks for any higher sanction for his religious duties than these afford. They terrify him into obedience to his lama, and that is all his lama requires." So fully authorised is this accretion that one of the most prominent officials in Lhasa is the chief of the magicians, whose house and temple struck our author almost as much as the great Jo-Kang itself ; while the close connection between Lamaism and this older magic or devil-worship is shown by the fact that the chief magician was one of the few who accompanied the Dalai Lama in his flight to Urga.

Exactly the same phenomenon meets us in Mohammedan countries. Islam seems to retain its power in a form wonderfully true to its founder's spirit, being strong where other Eastern religions are weak, viz. : in practical influence on daily life. But it is not necessary to remain long in a Mohammedan country to see that Islam by no means involves the submission of all religious instincts to this faith. In many cases the village mosque is regarded as of far less importance than the shrine of a Vali who has inherited the

site and the prerogatives of some primeval stone, spring, or tree. Scarcely a child or domestic animal can be seen without a charm, sometimes of imposing size. There is not a Moslem who does not trust to omens, invoke the Saints, who may be Christian, like St. Sergius, St. Elias, or St. George, or who in times of stress does not offer a sacrifice at some shrine of repute. Moreover, magic is secretly resorted to by numbers of the more ignorant, just as it was in the days of Babylonian, Persian, Median, and Sassanian kings.

It is important to realise that the religions actually professed in the East have been imposed on an earlier and more tenacious groundwork of belief, and that these earlier beliefs are in substance the worship of spirits, or of the powers of nature, and are based on the idea either that the supreme God is too far off or too little interested to be directly appealed to, or that his authority is shared or disputed by other powers, whom it is of more immediate interest to human beings to propitiate. Nature or demon worship is universal, and its persistence under the cover of higher forms must be reckoned with, no less than the practice of magic which accompanies it. The idea that there is a secret force in nature, inadequately controlled by the high God, or perhaps directly hostile to Him, and generally hostile to men, who naturally regard themselves as the clients of the high God, is the source of most magic and systems of propitiation. Christianity, too, has not been free from its influence, as anyone who has any acquaintance with the hold enjoyed by local saint worship, and the general tendency to a pursuit of magic, must have realised. This tendency is encouraged by some of the Syrian clergy of Kurdistan, who supply to Kurds and other Moslems slips of paper which, containing words copied from some ancient book of magic, are supposed to act as a charm to preserve a child from danger or a buffalo from sickness. I have even known a staunch Protestant in Kurdistan to resort to the method of sacrificing a goat to St. Sergius in order that his wife might bear him a son.

Dualism is an ingrained heresy of the East. Hence real communion between God and man is regarded as inconceivable, in view of the material nature of man, with

which God the Spirit can have no direct relation. However vigorously this view has been condemned by Eastern councils, the Eastern Church has been by no means free from its influence.

For instance, in the matter of wrong-doing and confession thereof there is a rooted objection to admit a wrong done, and to so "lose face." A man has done wrong, and loses his standing with the person wronged: he does not come and confess and ask pardon, but will find a third party, who is in favour with the person wronged, and who will make a vicarious confession or apology, and beg for pardon for his own sake; then the matter is dropped, "covered" or "left," as the significant expression runs, and the offender will, with "whitened face," behave to the wronged man as if nothing has occurred. An almost invariable excuse also will have been offered—"Such a man is but a son-of-man, so you should forgive him." Moral responsibility is not recognised, but only the weakness of a created being: his nature, not himself, has been in fault. A hundred instances of this might be given, for it is a characteristic which is a daily trial to those who live among Eastern Christians.

Connected with this is the all-pervading belief in merit, and the solution of the question as to how man can save his soul and please God, the question of the relative value of faith and works. St. Paul's picture of the man appalled by his inability to do God's law represents the struggle of a man who has reached a far higher plane than that of those with whom we have to deal. It is universally held that to keep the law is the only way to attain salvation, while both Christians and Moslems consider that they have been introduced into an exclusive relation to God, which alone gives effect to their merit. This faith is something very different from what St. Paul describes: it is not the living participation in the life of God, by which our acts become His acts, so far as they are done by faith working alone; it is rather the mental acceptance of certain dogmas, and the belief that certain religious acts can of themselves secure to the doer acceptance by God. By those who regard merit as the one means of escaping wrath or obtaining salvation, the fundamental Christian laws of faith and love

are broken ; for where God is presumed to become man's debtor, there is no room for faith in a loving Father. The *Times* correspondent, in the book already referred to, emphasises the fact that one has to see other religions in their every-day garb in order to understand how unique is the Christian conception of love, and to realise how exclusively other religions rely on the pursuit of merit and the fear of evil powers. No one denies this to be the case with Mohammedanism, for the first and last thought of a Moslem is how he can earn future bliss by present discomfort or sacrifice. Islam is, in fact, based upon an amazingly successful diagnosis of the ordinary capacities of humanity.

In the East the form rather than the motive of merit differs from that of the West, because the idea of abstract justice, which Rome has bequeathed and Christ has sanctified to the West, is little realised in the East. The irresponsible will of a superior is what is recognised, and the ideal king is he who by his personal fiat directs government in a way that commends the good of the greatest number. So, conversely, each good deed expects a corresponding return personally given, and the supreme prerogative of the righteous ruler is not self-sacrifice, but condescension and mercy. We cling rather to the idea of love, which can only show mercy by itself suffering ; but it is doubtful whether such an idea exists outside Christianity.

A Persian regards alms, fasting, pilgrimages, or bridge-building on the pilgrim ways as a means of increasing his own reward : each act is "sowab" or merit, and is extolled as such. Once I spent a night in a Moslem village ; my host came in late, having been to perform certain prayers at his father's grave. I apologised for calling him from such a pious occupation, expecting him to say that he would make up the loss to his father some other time. He said, " Oh no ! don't consider my father : it is not loss to him, but only to me." It seemed a curious way of regarding the matter, that a man should pray at his father's tomb as an act of merit for himself. Presently I asked him what he thought was the use of prayer or alms ? If all was "sowab," why not be content with fasting and wearing a hair shirt ? I knew what the answer would be—



that no opportunity of "sowab" must be neglected, whether it be a matter of performing the minute ceremonial of prayer and ablutions correctly, or building a pilgrim bridge, or giving a farthing to a beggar. I told him the story of the Good Samaritan, hoping to impress him with the entire disinterestedness of the parable. He replied, "Oh, that was 'sowab.'" "How so?" I said. "Why, he bought much reward in Paradise by giving twopence to the innkeeper and showing mercy to the needy." I wondered if our moral teaching generally obtains this explanation in the Eastern mind, and thought how the unexplained reading of the Gospel would affect such a mind.

Dualism is an idea less easily absorbed by Mohammedanism, but is found among Persian Moslems. Persia contains a conglomerate of peoples, of which the Persians proper never received more than the polity and forms of Islam, and the inhabitants of Western Persia have inherited too much from the older Zoroastrianism to be consistent Moslems. The contest between flesh and spirit is of the soil, and has its continual crop of Manichæan fruits, renunciation of the flesh on the one hand, contempt and indulgence of it on the other. Sufism, inheriting the dualism of Manichæism and the teaching of the Mazdahean heretics, has conquered Islam, veiled as it has been in decent Mohammedanism phrases. Islam shuts its eyes to this, and is content with lip-service; by throwing back the responsibility on God, it gives no explanation of the mysterious contradiction of flesh and spirit, because it fuses the two contraries of good and evil, spirit and flesh, by referring both to one ineffable God. And thus it is that every sect in Persia, every reformer tends to contradict the fundamental principles of Mohammed, and to emphasise the belief in dualism.

The extent to which recourse is had to charms and dead intercessors has already been touched on. Mohammedanism itself gives a stimulus to the practice by insisting on the remoteness of God. What can man do? God commands; man has but to obey: but he is physically and morally unable to obey for one day the ceremonial demands of Islam. So man falls back on that very system of intermediaries which Mohammed tried so hard to

exclude. If a man cannot keep the law, let him try to make up the balance by acquiring merit wherever he can, and for the rest trust to the merits of those who have already attained, whose goodwill he can by sacrifice or prayer secure: and as the supreme prerogative of the God of Islam is mercy, so let him hope. For no idea lies deeper in men's thoughts than that God has his favourites, who therefore can prevail with him, and that man by his own efforts can acquire merit. The weakness of Islam as a religion and its strength as a political force is this, that while claiming a rigid control over the external actions of its subjects, it leaves the mind and will free to follow the thousand heterodoxes which jostle for acceptance in the East. To the ruler or man of action this is an advantage; but to the subtle Persian or semi-barbarous Arab or Kurd it gives just that excuse for dualism or spirit- or devil-worship which is so dear to them. It is easy to the Persian to accept an external law which does not fetter his inner thoughts or spirit: hence Mohammedanism has been undermined by mysticism and antinomianism on the one hand, while on the other the reign of the Mullah, the interpreter of law and the intermediary between man and religion, has gained a supremacy which would have been as abhorrent to Mohammed as mysticism.

What has Christianity in the East done to meet these needs and instincts? The only form of Christianity which has developed to any great extent away from Greek or Roman influence has been Nestorianism. Not that Nestorius was a Persian, or his doctrine derived from Persia; nor, again, that Persian theology was entirely free from Western influence. Far from it; but the special characteristic of the Persian Church was to adopt and make its own a doctrine which the West rejected after a short examination, instinctively recognising the truth, even before it was explicitly taught, that between God and man there is no such gulf as seems axiomatic to the Persian. The truth that man was created in the image of God guided the Western Church right, even when its dogmatic decrees failed to give a satisfactory explanation of the incarnation or of the meaning of personality, on which such an explanation depends.

Nestorianism displays an inadequate conception of personality, and of sin : arguing in regard to both, as it does, from dualistic premises ; for in the incarnation it sees no more than a "union of will" between the divine and human nature, rejecting the "hypostatic" or personal union on account of the incompatibility of the divine and human. This doctrine was not enforced from outside. The Persian students who flocked to the great university of Edessa in the fifth century drank in eagerly the newly formulated doctrine ; and if we go back to the earliest extant Persian treatise on theology, the "Discourses of Aphraat the Persian Sage," a writer who was contemporary with Athanasius, we find in it no effort to grasp the meaning of the Incarnation.<sup>1</sup> After the fourth century the Persians borrowed all their theology from the Greeks, without understanding, and perhaps without knowing, the philosophy on which it was based : for Athanasius seems to have been but a name to them, and not a popular one, for he came from the hated Alexandria. But Nestorianism hailed from Antioch, the mother and patron of the Persian Church, and Nestorianism was welcomed as well on this account as because it presented a compromise singularly attractive to the Persian mind ; while the Zoroastrian kings were glad to encourage a doctrine which would effectually drive a wedge between their Christian subjects and their Roman foes. Spirit and matter being incompatible, the Christian idea of an incarnation would seem as blasphemy to the Persians ; whereas Monophytism or Nestorianism renders the doctrine easier of acceptance, the one by the practical annihilation of human nature, the other by denying the personal unity of God and man. The Persians recognised a kindred spirit in those teachers who followed Theodore in his teaching about sin, as a defect and weakness of human nature rather than as a moral and physical corruption involving guilt. Theodore practically denied original sin, and Nestorians have to do the same, as may be seen not only from their common

<sup>1</sup> Nothing seems to have been known officially of the Council of Nicæa in Persia until 410 A.D. This can only be accounted for by the fact that during the persecution of Sapor II., and for some years before and after it, the Persian Church was entirely cut off from the West.

talk, but from the liturgical books of the East Syrians. On the other hand, we must not lose sight of the undoubted Jewish influence traceable among the East Syrians: to which, rather than to Mohammedanism, are traceable the distinctions of meats and the ceremonial rules or customs concerning the eating of blood and purification. These customs, to which Zoroastrianism was as hostile as it was to celibacy and other asceticism, formed the subject of fierce hatred and persecution in Sassanian times, when the eating of blood, or marriage, was not infrequently offered as an alternative to death.

The Nestorian statement of the doctrine of incarnation is inadequate to meet the real needs of the Persians. It is only by emphasising this original harmony between the divine and human that dualism can be met, and by teaching the true doctrine of atonement as a means to restoring that harmony for men: thus only will men learn their true relation to God the Father, their duty to be sanctified in body as well as spirit, and that the whole man needs to be redeemed, and that not by freeing the soul from the body or by asceticism or by pursuit of merit, but by participation in the redemption wrought by Christ, who was perfect God and perfect man.

O. H. PARRY.

## EDITORIAL NOTES.

*Introductions* THE writer of our first article, the *Hon. J. Ferguson, C.M.G.*, is a Member of the Legislative Council of Ceylon and  
*to*  
*our readers.* President of the Ceylon Branch of the

Royal Asiatic Society. He is also the editor and proprietor of the *Ceylon Observer* and President of the Ceylon Christian Literature Society. His long experience of forty-six years in Ceylon or the Far East adds additional interest to his article, which would in any case demand attention and respect.

The *Rev. N. Macnicol, M.A.*, has been a missionary at Poona for many years in connection with the United Free Church of Scotland. He is also joint editor of the *Indian Interpreter*, a quarterly magazine published in India.

The article entitled "Have we Spoilt the Native in South Africa," is by the *Rev. A. C. Read*, Vicar of Vrede, in the Orange River Colony.

*Mr. Puxley*, who writes on "Bush Brotherhoods in Australia," was for several years the head of the brotherhood which he describes. He is at present stationed at Charlesville, in the diocese of Brisbane. We remember, while traversing parts of the Australian bush in 1887, looking forward with a despairing hope to the establishment of the kind of work which he here describes, and which still needs extending to an almost unlimited extent.

The *Rev. W. R. Mounsey* was for several years the organising secretary in Australia of the Church of England Mission to New Guinea, and had many opportunities for studying the effects which the Mission is producing upon the natives.

The *Rev. Hector McNeile* was formerly a Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. Later on he was a missionary

at Girgaun, India, in connection with the Church Missionary Society.

The *Rev. T. A. Gurney*, who writes on the influence of laymen on Missions, is a well-known advocate of foreign Missions in connection with the work of the C.M.S. He is at present the Vicar of Emmanuel Church, Clifton.

*Canon Margoschis* has for thirty years been in charge of one of the largest of the S.P.G. Missions in South India. Nazareth, in Tinnevely, which is the scene of his work, is the centre of a large group of Christian villages, and is one of the most encouraging Missions to be seen in India.

The *Rev. O. H. Parry* has been working for ten years at Urmi, in Persia, in connection with the Archbishop's Mission to the Assyrian Christians. He is the author of an interesting volume entitled *Six Months in a Syrian Monastery*. The Mission, as many of our readers will know, represents an attempt not to found a new Church in Assyria, but to help one of the oldest Christian Churches in the world to recover its former position and to resuscitate its energies.

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*Educational missionary work in India.* THE article by the Bishop of Madras in our January issue has given rise to more discussion than almost any other article that has appeared in this Review. As our readers will remember, the Bishop urged that, in view of the fact that little progress has been made during the last fifteen years in the evangelisation of the students and more educated classes of North India, the time has come to concentrate Christian missionary effort upon the large masses of less educated people, especially in Southern India, who will eagerly welcome any missionaries it may be possible to send. In accordance with the suggestions contained in this article, the Bishop proposed to the S.P.G. that the Trichinopoly College, one of the oldest and largest in India, should be closed, and that the staff should be set free to undertake more directly evangelistic work.

In the course of a recent visit to India we had the opportunity of seeing most of the largest educational colleges

we may assume that this strong testimony to the reality and success of their work was in part the result of these investigations. The "strenuous and self-denying" workers to whom the Prince referred have never expected to win royal approval of their labours, but his words will none the less help to cheer and encourage them in their work. The last occasion, as far as we know, when royalty attended a service held in the open air in England for the promotion of missionary work was in 597. On this occasion the King of Kent was so nervous lest the missionaries should bewitch him if he received them in a covered building that he stipulated that the meeting should take place in the open air. As the earlier meeting formed a landmark in the spread of Christian missions throughout England, we can but pray that the recent recognition by royalty of missionary effort may mark a correspondingly important landmark in the evangelisation of the world.

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*Work amongst  
women  
in the East.*

THE first article in our present issue deals with a subject which is of primary importance. We believe that the reason why the Christian faith has failed to win acceptance from the educated classes of North India as rapidly as its initial successes had emboldened us to expect is that the majority of the missionary societies concerned have failed to observe the due proportion which should exist between work amongst men and amongst women. There are many hundreds, if not thousands, of students in North India who are intellectually convinced of the truth of Christianity, and who would make a public confession of the Christian faith if they could do so without "the loss of all things." As matters now are anyone belonging to one of the regular Hindu castes who becomes a Christian loses his wife and children, or, if he is still unmarried, loses the prospect of ever obtaining a wife at all. We strongly sympathise with Mr. Ferguson's suggestion that missionary societies should attempt to equalise the efforts which they are making and the money they are spending on boys' and girls' schools in India and the Far East. The heart of India will never be reached till effec-

tive influence can be brought to bear upon its women. There is work in India to-day for an unlimited number of women who are qualified doctors, nurses, or teachers, and there is also work for a much larger number than is at present forthcoming of women possessed of sanctified common sense who can devote their time to visiting and teaching in the zenanas. We believe that if the number of efficient women workers in North India could be quadrupled within the next few years, we should not have long to wait before the efforts which are being made to evangelise the students of North India would be productive of visible results out of all proportion to those which have as yet been recorded.

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*American lay-  
men and foreign  
Missions.*

A MOVEMENT has recently been organised by some prominent laymen in the United States and Canada with a view to send out a commission of business men to examine into the working of missionary societies in different parts of the world, and to report as to the nature and extent of the work which is now being carried on and the steps which it may be desirable to take in order to extend and improve this work. The fifty laymen who have agreed to form part of the Commission include Captain Mahan, the well-known writer on naval strategy, Mr. John Wanamaker, late Postmaster-General of the U.S.A., and several other prominent men in America. It is proposed that the Commission should go out by twos or threes to investigate missionary work in the various parts of the world. As a beginning, six members of the Commission have come to England to study the organisation of our missionary societies. At a breakfast, at which we were present, given at the Holborn Restaurant to welcome the members of the Commission, one of them described a conversation between an American Churchman and a Japanese visitor on the recent occasion of the celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of the planting of the English Church at Jamestown. The Japanese visitor inquired, "Isn't it true that the children connected with your Church raise a special contribution for foreign Missions every



Easter?" "That is so," was the reply. He then asked, "Isn't it the case that the women connected with your Church raise a similar special contribution every three years?" On receiving an answer in the affirmative, he further asked, "Isn't it the case that the special offering now being made by American laymen for foreign Missions in connection with this celebration is the first of its kind?" "Yes," was the reply. "It seems to me then," he continued, "that your children contribute to foreign Missions once a year, your women once in three years, and your business men once in three hundred years." It is in the hope of helping to remove the reproach implied in this statement that this Commission has been appointed. If it succeeds, as we earnestly trust may be the case, in arousing the interest of business men in America to the possibility of making use of their money by investing in foreign Missions we hope that it may give rise to a similar movement in England at no distant date.

*The tiger and  
the goat in  
India.*

"Be loyal and faithful and value the peaceful Government under which the tiger and the goat drink at the same spring." These words, which form part of a manifesto recently issued to his Sikh co-religionists by the head of the Golden Temple of Amritsar, whilst they justify the existence of the British *raj* in India to-day, afford a welcome proof that it will not soon or lightly be interrupted. The manifesto further declares that British rule, as compared with all previous rules, has brought peace, wealth, knowledge, and religious liberty, and adjures all Sikhs to abstain from participating in or countenancing any political movement embarrassing to the Government. At the present time those who know India best are slow to express an opinion as to the significance of the unrest which exists, especially in Bengal and the North-West. In view of the unarmed condition of the people of India, the large proportion of English troops, and the comparative absence of the sepoy class of Indian soldiers who were responsible for the outbreak in 1857, it is almost inconceivable that any serious military uprising should

occur in the near future. It is, however, satisfactory to know that the official head of the most warlike race in North India can bear unequivocal testimony to the beneficent results of English rule. It is interesting, too, to note that the place from which this Sikh manifesto is issued is also one of the chief centres of Christian missionary work in the North-West. We had the opportunity of visiting both the large C.M.S. Mission and the Golden Temple a few months ago. Whatever be the true explanation, it cannot be maintained that Christian Missions are in any degree responsible for the measure of unrest which at present exists. The reference to the tiger and the goat by the head of the Sikh community might be paralleled by that attributed to the loyal Maharajah of another of the great fighting races of India. On being asked by a Viceroy of India what would happen supposing the English were to withdraw from India, he replied that on the morning following the day on which the English withdrew he and his troops would be on the march for Calcutta, and that before two months had elapsed there would not be a virgin or a rupee left in the province of Bengal. It is the element of truth contained in this reply which justifies the continuance of British rule in India.

Whilst, however, we welcome the assurance of the head of the Sikh community that our custodianship of the tiger and the goat has been both beneficial and effective, we regret that the custodians have not always been either polite or intelligent. This latter remark is suggested by a statement which a friend has just made to us who was travelling a few weeks ago from Umballa to Delhi. An English soldier, who was his fellow passenger, drew the attention of his chum to an Indian village which they were passing, and said, "I say, Bill, I suppose those people are sort of barbarians, ain't they?" His chum replied, "Oh yes, they are only animals." We would venture to suggest that an arrangement should be made in every troopship proceeding to India for a course of lectures to be delivered to the soldiers on board on the history and achievements of the Indian races. We have no right to create unnecessary misunderstandings between

ourselves and the Indian peoples by condoning the stupidity and ignorance of our fellow countrymen.

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*The Young People's  
Missionary  
Movement.*

WE have received from New York a pamphlet containing a sketch of the Young People's Missionary Movement, which, though as yet hardly five years old, bids fair to become one of the most widely-spread organisations for missionary work in the world. It was started in 1902 in order to supplement the work of the Students' Volunteer Movement. The latter endeavours to influence the 200,000 college students in North America, whilst the new movement makes its appeal to the 14,000,000 scholars in American Sunday-schools. It does not aim primarily at the enrolment of volunteers for the mission-field, but at the quickening of interest amongst those who stay at home, and at increasing the contributions available for the support of missionary work abroad. It also undertakes the publication of text-books for missionary study, some of which have had a very large circulation. We shall watch with sympathetic interest the further development of a movement which promises to do much towards increasing the interest taken in foreign Missions in America.

## REVIEWS.

*Church and Empire.* A Series of Essays on the Responsibility of Empire. Edited by the Rev. J. Ellison, M.A., and the Rev. G. H. Walpole, D.D. With a Preface by the Archbishop of Canterbury. 240 pp. Published by Longmans. Price 3s. 6d. net.

AMONGST the writers of the eleven essays included in this volume are the Archbishops of the West Indies and Brisbane, the Bishops of Lahore, Rangoon, Auckland, and Mashonaland, and the Secretary of the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada. Several of the essays are both forcible and inspiring, and the volume as a whole is deserving of careful study. It is refreshing to turn from the narrow party views and the burning questions, some of which we ardently wish would burn themselves out, that fill the correspondence and many other columns of our religious newspapers at home, to breathe the invigorating atmosphere of this volume. No one can read its pages without an increased realisation of the obligation which rests upon him to promote the moral and spiritual welfare of his fellow-subjects throughout the length and breadth of the British Empire, or without a sense of shame that so little is at present being done on their behalf. The claims of India and Burma, as urged by the Bishops of Lahore and Rangoon, deserve special attention. The Bishop of Rangoon adds one more to the number of "those in authority" who have raised their protest against the admission of the excuse which is said to be keeping many of the younger clergy from volunteering for missionary work till called by those in authority. He says: "Saintly men and women pour into the mission-field from Nonconformist bodies and do noble work, finding a clear call. . . . And meantime years fly by, and the man who feels moved to offer himself waits and waits for such authoritative call, and the sheep of Christ are left to starve in the wilderness of heathen surroundings." The claims of our fellow-subjects in Canada are represented by the Rev. N. Tucker, Secretary of the Canadian Missionary Society and by the Rev. E. A. Welch, of Toronto, and those of our fellow-countrymen in Australia by Dr. Donaldson, the Archbishop of Brisbane. The editors have been fortunate enough to secure the

material assistance and presided at a missionary meeting which they arranged.

In response to a letter from Lewanika, who had been influenced by Khama, he returned to Barotsiland, where he commenced work in January 1885, which was carried on with many vicissitudes till his death in 1904.

Seldom has a missionary been called to labour under more discouraging surroundings than those which existed when he commenced his work. His biographer says : " The utter indifference of the Barotsi to all higher things was heart-breaking both to him and his wife. They seemed to have neither heart nor conscience : they did not seem emotional and affectionate like the Basutos and most Africans. He attributed this to their having so little real family life. ' Who being past feeling have given themselves up,' exactly expressed their condition. One word covered everything : ' No *bapala* ' to amuse oneself. Everything was so much material for laughter ; tears were never seen. In private conversations or public addresses every mention of Divine things was greeted with shouts of derisive laughter and mimicry ; the king's court jester would sit in front of the preacher on Sundays, distracting the audience with his antics." It was M. Coillard's power of sympathy which enabled him to appeal to these who seemed themselves so devoid of human sympathy. When he came into contact with Europeans his influence was equally marked. " We were just like wax in M. Coillard's hands," said some rough colonial transport riders ; " we always knew we should have to do what he wanted in the end, though he seemed to be giving in all the time." His power of sympathy was the direct outcome of the habit of prayer which he had made it the resolve of his life to acquire. He rose at three or four every morning in order to secure time for prayer before the other work of the day began.

We have not space to give any account of the results of his work among the Barotsi, but we trust that many of our readers will obtain and study the book for themselves.

On his return to Paris in 1897 he obtained a great reception. When visiting some friends on this occasion his hostess came to the supper-table, excusing herself for being late by saying, " I was putting my little boy to bed, and he kept me. When he was saying his prayers I bade him pray for M. Coillard, and he asked, ' Why does everyone make such a fuss (*tant de cas*) over M. Coillard ? ' So I began to tell him why, and he said, ' I think we must all ask God not to let him grow too proud ! ' " Everybody laughed except the subject of this remark, who looked very grave. The next day, in private, the hope was expressed that he had not been annoyed by such an embarrassing speech. " Oh, no," he replied ; " it was God's message to me, and He sent it by the

mouth of a child so that it should not wound me." During the last years of his time in Barotsiland he had much to dishearten and humble him had pride been his prevailing fault, which was, however, very far from the case.

Agents of the "Ethiopian Movement," working in connection with the American Methodist Episcopal Mission, arrived in Barotsiland. In 1904 some professing Christians apostatised with shameful excesses, and the Barotsi evangelists, men of proved character and convictions, threatened to desert to the newcomers. He marked in his Bible the verse, "I have laboured in vain and spent my strength for nought." The crisis, however, had passed before his death on May 16, 1904, and soon afterwards the last representative of the Ethiopian Movement had left the country.

M. Coillard was not only one of the most remarkable of modern missionaries, but was equally successful as a missionary deputation. We commend to the attention of missionary "deputations," in explanation of this success, the following words of his biographer: "His addresses were carefully thought out. Some people have one lecture which they repeat everywhere. This he would never do. He could not speak to half a dozen school-girls (unless taken by surprise) without devoting an hour or two to preparing his address, or rather preparing himself to deliver it. 'I can't feed people on stale bread,' he would say, when urged to leave it for some social engagement, and once he wrote, 'I have not dealt in missionary pastry only, but in the Bread of Life.' This was true. His addresses, as heard, seemed always remarkable for a certain primordial freshness and simplicity springing from the fact that as a man he had lived close to earth, and as a Christian close to heaven. No one who heard him speak ever seemed able to forget it."

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*The Lower Niger and its Tribes.* By Major A. G. Leonard.  
564 pp. Published by Macmillan. Price 18s.

THE author, who spent ten years in the Niger Delta, here gives the results of his investigations into customs, traditions, and religious rites of the tribes amongst which he lived. The book contains a large amount of really valuable information, interspersed with a good deal of superficial theorising which might very well have been omitted. The work is altogether too ambitious, and, despite the fact that the author alternately patronises and condemns the investigations of Max Müller, Lang, Frazer, and others, we cannot help feeling that his work establishes no claim to be compared with theirs. Nevertheless, the book is one which, in the present dearth of literature on the subjects of which it treats, is

worthy of careful study. Major Leonard assures us that the natives generally believe in the existence of one supreme God, but his confident assertion of this belief, which is opposed to the witness of other investigators, is not by any means established by the evidence which he produces. The book contains valuable information relating to the influence exerted by witches and witch doctors in the Niger Delta. It is greatly to be desired that some one who has had experience in the investigation of psychical phenomena at home could be sent out to investigate West African witchcraft.

The extent to which a belief in witchcraft prevails in almost all non-Christian countries is seldom realised by those who have not given special attention to the subject. In West Africa a belief in witchcraft is responsible for more deaths than war, famine, and pestilence put together. Moreover, this belief is by no means confined to the heathen population, but is shared by many who have long been regarded as Christians. A native Christian missionary of many years' standing, and who had received part of his education in England, was preaching a few years ago in the Niger Delta on the subject of witchcraft. In the course of his sermon he endeavoured to show how impossible it was for those who professed Christianity to believe in any such thing as witchcraft, and urged his hearers to abandon their belief in it. The sermon being ended the preacher gave out a notice to the effect that he had been feeling very unwell himself for some time past, and that he had reason to believe that two members of his congregation had bewitched him! He added some severe reflections on their conduct. The preacher is still living and acting as a missionary in West Africa. This is no doubt an extreme case, but almost any English missionary who is in close touch with native Christians, whether in Africa, India, or elsewhere, can testify to the fear of being influenced by witchcraft which still exists even amongst genuine converts to Christianity.

One story given by the author, and which a few years ago would have seemed to us inexplicable, affords a good illustration of the influence which is exerted by suggestion. He writes: "Inside the Ju-Ju houses in these particular localities . . . are various clay images of human beings. . . . They are made to represent the images of certain prominent or dangerous enemies whose death is religiously desired as an advantage to the community. The theory is that in the event of a person inimical to its interests coming to the town on evil purpose bent, the bare fact of his looking at his own image, tenanted, as it presumably is, by a spirit more evil and powerful than himself, is certain to cause his death."

A somewhat parallel story is given by Miss Kingsley, who writes

"A man wants to kill you without showing blood. So he throws his face on you by a process I need not enter into. You hardly know anything is wrong at first; by-and-by you notice that every scene you look on night or day has got the face in it, not a filmy vision of the thing, but quite material in appearance, only it is in abnormal places for a face to be, and it is a face only. It may be on the wall or among the roof poles, or away in a corner of the hut floor; outdoors it is the same—the face is first always, there just where you can see it. Some of my informants hold that it keeps coming nearer and nearer, but others say that it keeps one distance all the time. . . . At first you think by changing your environment—going outdoors, coming in, going a journey, mixing with your fellow-men, or avoiding them, you can get out of the thing, but you find when you look round—a thing you are certain to do when the charm has got its grip—the face is there as usual. Now this sort of thing tells on the toughest in time, and you get sick of life when it has always got the face mixed up in it, so sick that you try the other thing—death."

Sir Lauder Brunton, in an article in the *Journal of Mental Science* (April 1902), commenting on this story, said:

"Closely associated with the African practice of throwing the face and with hypnotic suggestion is, I think, the Italian superstition of the 'evil eye.' Its Italian name *jattura* suggests *gettar incanti*, 'to cast enchantment,' and if this derivation be correct it would correspond closely to the African term of 'throwing the face.'"

The attitude of missionaries brought face to face with various forms of witchcraft has varied in different places and at different times. Some have adopted an attitude of complete scepticism, and have endeavoured to eradicate the belief in witchcraft by reiterated assurances which they have offered to their converts to the effect that all the phenomena are deceptive and unreal. Others have felt unable to adopt such an attitude in view of the frequent references to witchcraft in the Old Testament, and the detailed description of what took place at Endor. They have usually warned their converts that the subject is one which it is undesirable or even wicked to investigate. In neither case, however, have they attained any marked success in restraining native Christians, much less heathen, from believing in, and in many instances from practising, the rites of witchcraft.

It is the atmosphere of mystery which surrounds the doings of the witch-doctor that makes it so hard to counteract his influence. If it can be shown that almost everything which the witch-doctor claims to be able to do, and certainly everything which he can be proved to have done, can be explained by recognised laws of thought transference and by the agency of suggestion, the first



step towards a solution of the problem involved will have been gained. For although the missionary may not be able at once to expound to his native hearers the principles on which his explanation is based, it will none the less be a help to him to have got rid, as far as he is himself concerned, of the atmosphere of mystery which has hitherto surrounded the subject. It may be doubted whether there is any greater hindrance to the spread of the Christian faith amongst the heathen than the belief in the power of witch-doctors. What is needed in the first instance is the collection of trustworthy information by Europeans, and especially by European missionaries, who are in close touch with the natives, and who have not, as is the case with native Christian missionaries, inherited a vague dread of the power of the witch-doctors. The power of these is most likely to be neutralised by those who are prepared to make a serious attempt to understand its source. It is not, of course, to be expected that every missionary should become a student of psychology; but many missionaries occupy a unique point of vantage for the collection of the information which must be obtained before the whole subject can be satisfactorily discussed. At the same time it must be borne in mind that if any useful work is to be done illimitable patience will be required. In ninety-nine out of every hundred cases investigated the missionary will find traces of fraud and jugglery. But in one case out of a hundred, or in one out of a thousand, he will find that the witch-doctor has succeeded in providing information which he could not have acquired by means of his ordinary senses, or that he has exerted an influence for good or for evil upon other men, if not upon other lower forms of life, where no physical contact has taken place, and where no obvious explanation can be suggested. It is this small residue of cases which needs to be investigated, and the careful investigation of which may one day help to overthrow the terrible tyranny which the witch-doctors at present exercise over countless millions of their fellow-men, and which renders it impossible for them to embrace a religion in which perfect love casteth out fear.

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*The Sudan.* By H. Karl Kumm, Ph.D. 224 pp. Published by Marshall.

DR. KUMM went out on a preliminary visit of inspection to Bauchi, in Northern Nigeria, in connection with the establishment of a Mission in the western part of Hausaland. The book gives a brief sketch of the Missions now established in Northern Nigeria, and an account of the need, from a missionary point of view, of the unnumbered inhabitants amongst whom they are working. The Mission with which Dr. Kumm is connected is "The Sudan

United Mission," working in the neighbourhood of the River Binué. The book is an earnest appeal to Christians in England to promote missionary work in the Sudan.

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*The Development of Religion in Japan.* By G. W. Knox. 204 pp.  
Published by Putnam. Price 6s.

THIS volume forms the sixth series of "American Lectures on the History of Religions." The writer, or rather lecturer, is a Professor of the History and Philosophy of Religion in the Union Theological Seminary, New York, and was formerly Professor of Philosophy and Ethics in the Imperial University, Tokyo. The titles of the lectures are:—1. "Primitive Beliefs and Rites, Natural Religion"; 2. "Shinto, the Way of the Gods, Natural Religion"; 3. "Buddhism, the Worship of the Absolute, Supernatural Religion"; 4. "Developments of Buddhism, Salvation by Faith"; 5. "Confucianism as Polity and Ethics, Ethical Religion"; 6. "Confucianism as a World System." The book forms a very good introduction to the study of the religions of Japan. The two chapters on Buddhism in particular contain much that is fresh and interesting. The lecturer draws a striking contrast between the great revival which took place in Japan in the seventh century and that which has recently occurred. It was because Japan was able to assimilate Chinese civilisation that its later development became possible. "As the Japanese came into contact with Chinese civilisation, so did the American Indian come into contact with the European; but in one case there was no response, and, as result, only a degeneration to a more hopeless condition, but in the other there were response and imitation, with a sudden revelation of latent powers, adoption, and then adaptation. The acceptance of Chinese civilisation wholesale did not check the natural talents of the Japanese: it aroused, guided, developed, and perfected them. Had the Japanese remained unmoved their fate would have been that of the Indian and of the Ainu; but now began their history." In the next chapter he shows how one important Buddhist sect in Japan has so far modified the original teaching of Buddhism that it is difficult to regard it as the same religion at all. He says: "In it (Shinshu) Buddhism has come full cycle, denying all which its founder taught, and affirming what he denied. The presuppositions which he accepted uncritically from the popular cosmology have their full revenge, destroying his positive doctrine. He taught salvation in Nirvana; the Shinshu authorities put it in the Western Paradise. He taught flight from the world as necessary; they permit all human relationships and activities—even war. He forbade faith even in himself; they proclaim salvation by faith alone. He

refused homage to God and belief in a soul ; but they have again a god, Amida, and an immortal soul. Even his name is forgotten, and his historic title is applied to another, so that in the Shin temples there is no image of Gautama, but of Amida alone, and in the prayers and teachings of the sect there is no mention of him." The Shin sect consists for the most part of the humbler and less educated people, who, however, are far more earnest and religious than the rest of the Buddhists in Japan.

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*Japanese Rule in Formosa.* By Yosaburo Takekoshi, Member of the Japanese Diet. With a preface by Baron Shimpei Goto, Chief of the Civil Administration. Translated by George Braithwaite. 342 pp. Published by Longmans. Price 10s. 6d. net.

ON April 17, 1895, Formosa and the adjacent islands were formally ceded by China to Japan, and the latter Power essayed for the first time the task of colonial administration. The present volume gives an account of what has taken place in Formosa during the last ten years. The book gives us the impression of being a trustworthy and unvarnished tale, and suggests that the Japanese are likely to become as successful in ruling and developing conquered territory as they have already proved themselves to be in war. Under Japanese administration the revenue of the island has increased sevenfold, and the island has already become self-supporting. Its population consists of 2,800,000 Chinese, 100,000 aborigines, and 50,000 Japanese. The volume contains a mass of information which is very well arranged on the history, customs, natural products, and commerce of the island. The author speaks most discouragingly of the religion of the native inhabitants. He says, "In a word the Formosan religion is nothing but a meaningless tissue of superstition and devil worship. It is true, ancestral worship is retained, and the head of the family has supreme control over all the other members, but otherwise no trace of Confucianism remains. Taoist beliefs have been changed into a mass of myths and senseless stories, and all good religious principles have become corrupted." Again, speaking of Buddhism in Formosa, he says : "The priests are despised by all, and are really the most dissolute class. What life can there be in a religion presided over by such men?" The writer of the book is, we presume, a Japanese Buddhist, hence his testimony in regard to the influence of Buddhism in Formosa is the more striking. He gives a brief sketch of some of the efforts put forth by Christian Missions. The chief agencies at work are the Scotch Presbyterians and the Roman Catholic Church. Quite recently

the Nippon Sei Kokwai of Japan has sent two Japanese missionaries. Towards starting this last Mission the S.P.G. contributed 400*l*. The book as a whole is well worth studying, not only by those interested in Formosa, but by all who are interested in the development of Japanese policy in the Far East.

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*Our Sister Beatrice : Recollections of Julian Beatrice Allen and her Letters.* By GRACE GRIER. 295 pp. Published by Longmans. Price 3*s*. 6*d*. net.

BEATRICE ALLEN, whose letters to her friends form the greater part of this book, was a C.M.S. missionary in Japan from 1893 to the time of her death in 1906. The letters breathe a spirit of devotion and enthusiasm, and few could read them without being inspired to seek after the ideals by which her life was guided.

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*The Chinese Empire : a General and Missionary Survey.* Edited by M. Broomhall, with a preface by Sir Ernest Satow, formerly H.M. Minister in Peking. 472 pp. Published by Morgan & Scott. Price 7*s*. 6*d*. net.

THE book is divided into a number of chapters, each dealing with a separate province of the Chinese Empire, and written by missionaries belonging to several different societies. In addition to the details of missionary work, there is given a brief geographical and historical account of the several provinces. It is illustrated by fifty or more portraits of missionaries who have made their mark in China. Special emphasis is laid upon the work of the China Inland Mission, of which Mr. Broomhall is a secretary. The articles are of unequal length and value, but the book as a whole is a distinct valuable contribution to the history of Christian Missions in China. One of the concluding chapters contains an account of the twenty-seven different versions of the Bible which have been issued for China. In 1905 the total circulation of part of the Scriptures exceeded two and a half million copies ; of these the English Bible Society issued rather less than half. The National Bible Society of Scotland supplied nearly a million, and the American Bible Society half a million. The appendices include accounts of the Jews in China, the introduction of Christianity into China, and biographical outlines of selected missionaries. There is also a good chronological table of dates relating to Chinese Missions. The present year is the centenary of the commencement of the work of the London Missionary Society under Robert Morrison. It is proposed to issue in connection with the present volume an atlas, containing twenty-three separate maps of the provinces and dependencies of China.

*Griffith John, the Story of Fifty Years in China.* By R. Wardlaw Thompson, Secretary of the London Missionary Society. 544 pp. Published by the Religious Tract Society. Price 7s. 6d.

DR. GRIFFITH JOHN is known to many outside the supporters of the L.M.S., for whom he has worked for fifty years. He hopes to be able to return to China to do yet another spell of work. Not the least attractive characteristic of Dr. John is the common sense which he has displayed in the prosecution of his work. He apparently realises the lack of this quality in some of the other missionaries with whom he has been brought into contact, as he writes: "You must not send to China, nor, I believe, to any other part of the heathen world, inferior men. We want men with the three G's at least—grace, gumption, and grit. A graceless man as a missionary is a pitiful object to behold; but I have always more hope of a graceless man to begin with than of a man without common sense, for if a man has no grace he can get it for the asking, but if he does not bring common sense with him into the world he cannot get it at all." The sphere of Dr. John's work has been for the most part Hankow and other towns on the River Yangtse. He has acted in turn as an evangelist, a translator, and an educationalist. In issuing tracts and books in Chinese he endeavoured to work as far as possible through native assistants, for, as he says, "I have never seen a production by a foreigner which, in a literary point of view, did not excite the ridicule of an ordinary native scholar." As Dr. John is still living, it is impossible either for a biographer or a reviewer to express any critical estimate of his work. We would quote one further sentence of his own which comes at the close of the volume: "A missionary life is the greatest of all possible lives. If a messenger from God should come and tell me my life was to be spared for another fifty years, China should have them all."

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*Tsae Teen Piao Muh.* By Thomas Jenner. Published by Luzac. 10s. net.

THIS is an attempt to assist the student of the Chinese language by arranging the 214 radicals according to the mnemonic system of Mr. W. Stokes. To this is added a list of the Chinese dynasties, also arranged according to the same mnemonic system.

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*Revival in India.* By Helen S. Dyer, 158 pp. Published by Morgan & Scott. Price 1s. in paper, 1s. 6d. in cloth.

THIS little book gives an account of revival services held during the past eighteen months at The Khassia Hills, Poona, the

Telegu Country, and several other places in India. We have here scenes described which in weirdness far surpass anything recorded in connection with the Welsh Revival. We read of Indian Christians falling into trances for days together, of innumerable visions and ecstasies, of persons whose faces blazed with spiritual light which their friends endeavoured to quench with water, of visions of fire, and sounds of rushing wind caused by spiritual forces, of persons flung hither and thither by devils across chairs and forms, of evil spirits cast out and of many miracles of healing. On one occasion two girls, while in a state of trance, independently discover the name of the thief who had stolen something from their schoolroom. The revival services resembled in total lack of order, whilst they exceeded in duration, those which characterised the Welsh Revival. We are told of many thousands of converts, the vast majority of whom—and this is, of course, the only test of the reality of the revival—have lived good moral lives since the moment of their conversion. The most characteristic feature of the revival has been the overpowering conviction of sin and the public confession of crime of every conceivable kind. The book has an introductory and commendatory note by Dr. Schofield, the well-known writer on mental diseases and the action of the subconscious mind. Every missionary in India ought to be supplied with a copy of this book. Whatever may be our final opinion in regard to the work described, it provides food for thought which all connected with missionary work in India would do well to assimilate.

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*Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies.* By the ABBÉ J. A. DUBOIS. Edited by H. K. BEAUCHAMP. Third edition. 741 pp. Published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford. Price 6s. net.

ALTHOUGH more than seventy years have elapsed since the Abbé Dubois left India this work of his, of which we welcome a new and cheap edition, still remains the standard work on many of the subjects of which it treats, a fact which illustrates the unchangeable character of the customs of the East, at the same time that it witnesses to the thoroughness of the Abbé Dubois' original work. Though written in South India, and primarily descriptive of the customs of South India, it will be of value to the student of Hinduism in any part of the Indian continent. The Abbé, as is well known, though himself a devoted missionary, was far from holding optimistic opinions in regard to the prospects of Christianity in India. In one of his letters he wrote: "Let the Christian religion be presented to these people under every possible light, the time of conversion has passed away, and under

existing circumstances there remains no human possibility of bringing it back." We trust that in its present cheap and attractive form the book may obtain a very wide circulation.

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*The Steep Ascent: Memorials of A. H. Thomas, and Records of the Ramnad Mission.* 262 pp. Published by Bemrose. Price 3s. 6d.

THE middle portion of this book consists of a memorial notice and some private letters from Mr. Thomas, who was an S.P.G. missionary at Ramnad for three years and died in 1890. The rest of the book contains notices of the Ramnad Mission, one of the oldest and most hopeful S.P.G. Missions in South India.

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*Introductory Manual of the Hindī Language.* By the Rev. F. P. Luigi Josa, Canon of St. George's, Guiana. Published by Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, & Co. Price 4s. net.

THE work is of the most elementary character, and probably illustrates accurately enough the somewhat mixed dialect of the Indian coolies employed in the West Indies, but it can hardly be called a grammar of pure Hindī. There are words in it that, though undoubtedly in use amongst uneducated Hindus, are borrowed from Urdu, and that would make a Benares Pandit stare and gasp. The language illustrated is rather the Hindustani *lingua franca* written, as it often is, in the Nāgarī character, than the Hindī of modern Indian literature.

So far as they go the grammatical rules are on the whole correctly given and clearly put, but there are some slips of the pen which will puzzle a beginner. For instance, on the very first page the author gives as his example of a word containing a short *a*, "*das*, a servant." But the Hindī for "servant" is *dās*, with a long *ā*, while *das*, with a short *a*, means not "servant," but "ten." There are other mistakes which are probably misprints, but which will equally confuse the learner. A useful series of vocabularies completes the work, but these too would be better for revision.

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*The English in America. The Middle Colonies. The Colonies under the House of Hanover.* By John Andrew Doyle, M.A., Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford. Published by Longmans. Price 14s. net each volume.

MR. DOYLE is a well-known writer on American history, his first book having been published twenty-five years ago. His two new volumes deal with the history of the American Colonies from the beginning of the seventeenth century down to 1760. In the earlier volume he tells how the Dutch established themselves in

"The New Netherlands" and of the foundation of New York, which changed hands more than once before it assumed its present name. The book is well written, and many of the incidents are graphically described. It is not Mr. Doyle's fault that a large part of the history consists of political and ecclesiastical quarrels and intrigues, and he has done his best to redeem the sordidness of the situations which he describes by his vivacity and humour. A large amount of the ecclesiastical information which he gives was obtained from the S.P.G. records, to which he has had access. John Wesley was one of the first missionaries sent by the S.P.G. to America. It is curious to read of his refusal to read the Burial Service over a Nonconformist, and of the accusations which were brought against him of being a Papist. Speaking of Whitefield's work in England Mr. Doyle says: "He had shown by his work among the most brutal and profligate the power of awakening religious enthusiasm in vast masses never equalled by any man speaking the English tongue." He then goes on to tell of his work in America, and notes that Whitefield was a strong supporter of the importation of slaves from West Africa. As a parallel to this we might point out that the first missionary whom the S.P.G. sent to West Africa (1751) lived to write a book on his return to England in defence of slave raiding in Africa. The religious conditions apparently differed greatly in the different States. We read of "a Maryland clergyman whose relations with his flock were such that he had to go into the pulpit armed with a pistol." On the other hand, Governor Craven, of South Carolina, could write of the clergy in his colony: "We may boast as learned a clergy as any in America, men unblemished in their lives and principles, who live up to the religion they profess, always indefatigable in their functions, visiting the sick, fearless of distempers, and never neglecting their duty."

The chapter in "The Colonies under the House of Hanover" entitled "Religion in the Colonies" is deserving of careful study even by those who are not specially interested in the development of religion in America; for, as Mr. Doyle says, speaking of New England, "the township was essentially a congregation, and it is therefore no exaggeration to say that the history of New England is primarily the history of Churches, of the processes by which they were formed, extended, and limited." In 1827 Henry Gibson, then Bishop of London, issued a letter on the subject of the conversion of negroes to Christianity which deserves to be remembered to his credit. Answering the various objections which were urged against such work, he says: "1. It is said that negroes, being adults, are unconvertible. This doctrine, if accepted, would make all missionary work impossible. 2. They cannot be taught because they know no English. At least they



know enough for the practical purposes of life. . . . 3. Religious teaching will encroach on the time needed for work. To accept this view is to make Mammon everything and God nothing."

We have dwelt almost exclusively upon some of the references contained in these volumes to the religious and ecclesiastical development of the American Colonies, but it is the political history which they contain, and which forms their main topic, that to many of our readers will form their chief attraction.

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*Adventure for God.* By Bishop Brent, Bishop of the Philippine Islands. Published by Longmans. Price 3s. net.

THE six lectures contained in this volume were delivered as the Paddock Lectures in the United States. They are written in a scholarly and forceful style from the standpoint of a modern missionary. The titles are: "The Vision," "The Appeal," "The Response," "The Quest," "The Equipment," and "The Goal." Those who desire to preach on the more general aspects of missionary work will find many helpful thoughts in these lectures. In urging that the missionary needs to cultivate his imagination no less than to study theology, the Bishop says: "Theology is the queen of sciences only so far as it is humanised and made to blend with the divine in man and on earth. Melt your theology into poetry. The story of the Father's love towards his erring son is the Epistle to the Romans declared in terms of the human emotions. Theology alone creates an angular soul, unlovely and of small power among serious men; theological ignorance, on the other hand, suggests a jellyfish. I have seen characters that look like a neat volume on rudiments of theology, and others resembling a handful of loose leaves of unconnected but pious sayings."

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*The Coming of the British to Australia, 1788 to 1829.* By Ida Lee.

With a preface by the Marquis of Linlithgow. Second edition. 350 pp. Published by Longmans. Price 7s. 6d. net.

A WELL-WRITTEN and graphic account of the beginnings of English life in Australia. The book is well illustrated from some old drawings to which the writer had access. One chapter is devoted to a description of the first churches in and round Sydney. For nearly seven years after the settlement of Sydney Divine service was held simply in the open air. The authoress has lived in Sydney for many years, and has spent much time in a study from the existing documents of the early conditions of the colony. As far as we know, no other book has been published which gives as lucid and interesting an account of the time of which it treats in the history of New South Wales.

*The Story of Bishop Patteson*, by E. K. Paget. *The Story of David Livingstone*, by Vautier Golding. *The Story of Chalmers*, of New Guinea, by J. H. Kelman.

THESE three volumes, which are published by T. & E. Jack, form part of a new series entitled "The Children's Heroes Series," edited by John Lang. They have coloured illustrations, and are issued at 1s. 6d. in cloth and 1s. in stiff paper covers. The fifteen volumes of this series already issued include lives of soldiers, sailors, and travellers, as well as missionaries. These three stories are well told, and the series should be a distinct addition to any children's library.

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*Of Like Passions*. By Francis Bancroft. 332 pp. Published by Sisley. Price 6s.

A NOVEL, the scene of which is laid in South Africa. The object of the author is to urge the need for further legislation, in order to check immoral intercourse between the white and black races in South Africa and to suppress the sale of liquor to the native races.

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*Popular Christianity*. By the late Mrs. Booth. 198 pp. Published by the Salvation Army. Price 6d.

THIS is quite the best book which the Salvation Army ever published, and we are glad to see a cheap reprint. As a specimen of its vigorous and pointed style we take the following sentences from a chapter entitled "Popular Christianity: its Cowardly Services":—"These modern Christians refuse to give themselves or their children to the propagation of the Kingdom. They studiously bring up their children, from three or four years of age to eighteen or twenty, grinding it into them every day of their lives how to get on and up in this world; but when Jesus Christ wants one of them, especially if he or she happens to be clever, to do any work for Him that will bring a cross, they consider it absolutely throwing that child away. . . . Oh, the stories I could unfold, the dozens of letters that could be produced, pleading with young men and women whose hearts God has touched with pity for the perishing multitudes, bringing all the considerations of family ties, worldly position, future prospects, wealthy alliances, and I know not what else, in order to induce them to turn aside from the path of self-sacrifice and whole-hearted abandonment to the interests of the Kingdom. I sometimes wonder that Christian parents and friends dare utter such words or pen such letters. I wonder that the ink does not turn red as they write, and that their accusing consciences do not force them to sign their letters 'Judas.'"

*Candidates in Waiting.* A Manual of Home Preparation for Foreign Missionary Work. By Georgina Gollock. 135 pp. Published by the C.M.S. Price 1s.

THE Bishop of St. Albans writes a prefatory note to recommend the fourth edition of this little handbook. Despite the fact that one chapter is entitled "Preparation as to C.M.S. Principles," the book is one which we can cordially recommend to all who are hoping to devote their lives to missionary work, under whatever society they propose to work.

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*Outline Histories of C.M.S. Missions.* Vol. III. Missions in China, Japan, New Zealand, and Canada. 159 pp. Published by the C.M.S. Price 1s.

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*The Romance of Missionary Heroism.* By J. C. Lambert. Illustrated. 346 pp. Published by Seeley. Price 5s.

STORIES of adventure in connection with foreign missions, especially intended to appeal to young people.

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*The Blue-Book of Missions for 1907.* Edited by the Rev. H. O. Dwight for the Bureau of Missions. 248 pp. Published by Funk & Wagnalls Co. Price 1 dollar.

WE are glad to see a re-issue of this book, which was first published in 1905. It contains a mass of statistical information relating to all the chief missionary societies (including those of the Church of Rome) throughout the world. It deserves to obtain a wide circulation.

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WE have received from the S.P.C.K. a *Swahili Prayer Book*, price 1s. 6d.; *The Prayer Book in the Florida Language*, spoken in the Solomon Islands, price 1s. 4d.; *Hymns for Public Worship in Dutch*, new edition, with supplement, price 1s. 4d.

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RECEIVED too late for review in the present issue:—*A Literary History of India.* By R. W. Frazer. 470 pp. Published by Fisher Unwin. Price 12s. 6d. net.

# The East and The West

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OCTOBER 1907

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## THE HOPE OF THE CHURCH.

THE purpose of this article is to maintain the thesis that the greatest benefit imaginable would accrue to the Church of England by the sudden and speedy exodus from the country of hundreds of the clergy. The writer is not herein suggesting the deportation of theological agitators, though that and the suppression of seditious ecclesiastical literature are, no doubt, measures greatly to be desired in the interests of peace and order. Neither does he profess to have discovered a vanishing trick for the idle and worldly. On the contrary, it is the young, the capable, and the earnest whose departure he desiderates. He would hesitate to say that the excellent work which they persist in doing in this country is positively mischievous, but he hopes to prove that their absence would be much more fruitful than their presence. To tell such clergy that they cannot be spared is to be guilty of most foolish flattery; to say that they will be missed is to state a fact fraught with much future blessing for the Church.

There is no need to emphasise the immense gain to the cause of Christ that would result if some five hundred of our best clergy were in the next three years to be scattered abroad over the world. Churchmen are becoming tired of hearing, literally true though it is, that no nation and no Church has ever had such an opportunity, that is, to a

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**NOTE.**—Readers of this Review are reminded that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, under whose auspices it is published, is not prepared to endorse the particular views expressed by the several contributors to its pages.

Christian, such a call from God for the evangelisation of the world as is offered to England and the Church of England in the present generation. In every part of the mission field the Church is undermanned—in very many parts terribly, pitiably undermanned. Bishops are breaking their hearts at the sight of open doors through which they cannot advance; clergy are going under in the effort to cover impossible areas. Moreover, many of the opportunities now within grasp will in a few years have passed out of reach. Thousands who offer their allegiance first to the Church of England will, if she does not come over to help them, fall back on the ministrations of other denominations. The immigrants now pouring into Canada will soon have chosen the form of religion or irreligion in which they will live. In parts of Africa there is a race between Christianity and Islam. "The people," writes a priest of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa in the report of 1906, "would, if new stations could be opened, embrace the faith of Christ by hundreds. The Mohammedan power is wide awake to its opportunities, and the African is practically lost to Christianity when he adopts the faith of Islam."

But all this is familiar to the readers of *THE EAST AND THE WEST*, and it is not from this point of view that the need of such an exodus as has been suggested is here advocated. The object of this article is to show, what is not generally recognised, that an immense impulse would be given to many measures of Church reform by a serious diminution of the number of clergy in England. A few illustrations will make this clear.

1. The supply of clergy has been one of the topics constantly before the Church in recent years. At Church Congresses, in diocesan conferences, and in the Press it has been discussed, and various ways of meeting the need have been suggested. But it has gradually become clear that the difficulty arises not from any dearth of candidates for the Ministry, but from the lack of provision of training for those who are too poor to educate themselves. The Church Missionary Society has been conscious of this for years. Canon Petit, the founder of the Ordination Candidates Exhibition Fund, has proved it. He says "there

is no such thing as a dearth of candidates for Orders. There is a dearth of money for College expenses ; but so far as money is supplied there are plenty of men from whom selection can be made." But what has put this truth beyond all possibility of dispute is the experience of the Society of the Sacred Mission and of the College at Mirfield. Here are two institutions which offer a training for the Ministry free of charge. The training is a long one, the conditions of life during it are severe, and repayment after ordination of part of the cost is demanded. But the number of applicants has been far beyond the expectation of the most hopeful, and far in excess of the accommodation and of the income at the disposal of the societies. Moreover a fair proportion of them attain to a high level of intellectual capacity. The problem then before the Church is not the finding of men for the Ministry, but the training of those who are ready to hand. This is a problem immeasurably simpler than the other. Vocations to the Ministry are the fruit of spiritual life in the society : the provision of training is a mere matter of organisation. The gradually increasing shortage of clergy during the last twenty years has already driven this dear sleepy old Church of ours to begin to think on these things and even to make some tiny experiments, diocesan and otherwise, with a view to dealing with the matter. A sudden aggravation of that shortage, on such a scale as to be sharply felt, would stir her into action and compel her to do, what every other important Christian body does, provide free training for every young man whose vocation is genuine, whose intellectual qualifications are adequate, and for whom work is waiting.

2. A resolution was passed by the Lower House of Convocation last May "that the best interests of the Church demand that a considerable number of benefices. . . should be united together." Here again is a measure of reform the urgency of which is patent to all who have acquaintance with the facts. The committee, on whose recommendation this resolution was passed, received evidence of 730 cases in the Province of Canterbury in which in the judgment of the archdeacons a union of benefices was desirable. In this way probably at least as

many as 500 clergymen might be withdrawn from positions in which they have no scope for the exercise of their powers, and set free for work in great centres of population. There are in the province of Canterbury 1,750 benefices with a population of under 200 inhabitants apiece. Not many men can do the best work of which they are capable in such parishes. "Not a few," says the report of the above-mentioned Committee, "in default of any obvious work, experience a possibly 'slow,' but certainly 'steady' loss of enthusiasm and energy." "Prompt and vigorous action is needed in order to obviate the waste of men and money which is going on under the present system." The thought of his unshepherded sheep is already harassing the mind of many a vicar who has tried in vain to secure an adequate supply of assistant clergy for the work of his great town parish. As that anxiety comes home more and more to the mind of the Church at large, as the burden of it presses more and more heavily upon the authorities, so certainly will the day be hastened when some way will be found of overcoming the hindrances which obstruct this reform. Is it too much to hope that 500 sportsmen will gladly embrace exile for the sake of thus emphasising a great need and harassing a sluggish organism into vigorous action?

3. There is thus good reason to hope that the sudden and speedy exodus of a large number of clergy would promote the accomplishment of important measures or reform (i) in the supply and (ii) in the distribution of clergy in England. Would not a like result follow in regard to their payment? Here too the need of reform is acknowledged on all sides. "We must recognise," said the Bishop of Birmingham, when preaching last year at St. Paul's on the occasion of the annual festival of the Queen Victoria Clergy Fund, "that the endowments of the Church are wholly inadequate to provide for the 26,000 clergy who serve her, and were it not that many of them are men of private fortune, the work of the Church could not be done at all. Those who know little of the homes of the poorer clergy have no idea of the anxiety which is often daily theirs for their daily bread. No one desires that these things should be. . . The poverty of her clergy is a standing reproach to the Church of England." There

are more than 3,000 benefices in England of which the income is less than £200 a year. A clergyman without private means has no security that he will ever be in a position to marry. There is no systematic provision for those who are incapacitated by age or infirmity. Now though financial considerations are not the chief or even an important factor in a man's choice of the Ministry of the Church for a profession, yet, here as elsewhere, the regulation of wages is determined to some extent by the law of supply and demand. The salary of a curate has perceptibly risen during the last twenty years, and this is no doubt partly in consequence of the decrease in the supply. There is no reason why that rise in market value should not be hastened by the same cause. If only a sufficient number of the clergy will come to the rescue of their class by making themselves scarce, it is even conceivable that the time may come when a priest will be worth as much as a butler or a gamekeeper.

A temporary scarcity of clergy will lead to many more most beneficial results. For example, there will be a great extension of lay-work, amongst men as well as amongst women. The clergy will be compelled to confine themselves more strictly to clergyman's work, and laymen will by degrees be forthcoming for much of that serving of tables which nowadays occupies so disproportionate a share of the time and energy of many a priest. Lay readers will multiply apace and their sphere of action will be enlarged. For a more generous recognition of their position and work will be accorded to them by Church people, when it is known that in many places there would be without their assistance no Church services at all.

There is keen vigorous life in the Church; but it is hampered and fettered by obsolete laws, customs and prejudices. If once she breaks her bands there is no telling in what new and beneficent activities she may not express herself. What wonderful, what startling reforms may there not be hid in the womb of the future! The supply of funds for Church purposes will no longer depend upon incessant torrents of appeals and the thunder of everlasting annual meetings, but will be provided by the even flow of systematic alms-giving. The multitude of



competing societies will be controlled and co-ordinated by a central Church executive. New Bishops will be created by the abolition of old Deans. Many a Bishop's palace will be converted into Church-house or Theological college. The Parsons' Freehold will be as dead as the Divine Right of Kings. Will the mystic word "dilapidations" have lost its terror? Who can tell? Perhaps even that is not too much for a sanguine temperament to look forward to. Churchmen of all schools long to feel about them the refreshing waters of reform, but they stand hesitating on the brink afraid to dive. A judicious push and the plunge will be made, and the stream carry them off. O ye five hundred, push; be quick and begone!

It has now been proved, at any rate to the satisfaction of one talented though obscure Churchman, that a new era of vigour and efficiency is, subject to one small condition, awaiting the Church of England. It only remains to consider what prospect there is of the fulfilment of that condition. Here there are good grounds for hopefulness. (i) The Archbishop of Canterbury recently appealed to the Junior Clergy Missionary Associations of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, through the chairman of their Federation, for some forty volunteers for work in North-West Canada. There are signs that these are already forthcoming! It could not be otherwise. It is not that the J.C.M.A. would stultify itself if it were unable to respond to a direct authoritative call of this kind, though that would certainly be the case. But rather is it because this Association is full of young burning enthusiasm which has not yet found adequate mode of expression. That enthusiasm will drive the best of the Junior Clergy to the uttermost ends of the earth if once they recognise that their continued presence in this country is retarding the reform and the development of the Church they serve. We hope then that forty men may be reckoned as good as gone.

(ii) Secondly, the Bishop of Dorking has sown a seed which may be expected to bring forth notable fruit. He has suggested that the presentation of the great offering of money at the closing service of the Pan-Anglican Congress should be made the occasion of a more precious

offering still, the offering of men for foreign service. The Bishop proposes, it is understood, to offer himself. Here is a grand lead given for Christian chivalry to follow. The consecration of life, in whatever manner, is the seed of the Church. A great offering of lives in such a cause and on such an occasion would surely bear fruit abundantly. Those who have in hand the arrangements of the Congress may well consider in what way such a movement may be forwarded. Each diocese is expected to make an offering of money, why not also an offering of personal service?

(iii) But thirdly, the fire once lit must not be allowed to go out for want of a little fuel and a little air. Great movements originate in impulses of enthusiasm, they last only in so far as they are reasoned and purposeful. The Church must introduce system and method into a department of her work which has been hitherto carried on in a somewhat haphazard and individualistic manner. Let the Board of Missions each year, after reviewing the whole field, form an estimate of the number of men required for foreign service in the ensuing twelve months. Let this number be divided among the different dioceses. Each Bishop will then call for volunteers to the number at which his diocese is assessed. If for two consecutive years the diocese fails to provide its quota, then the Bishop, as an act of penance for his proved inefficiency, will himself depart. Humility and public opinion will no doubt prompt him to throw himself into some forlorn hope. He will probably be found working among convicts or lepers; the orphaned diocese will be stricken with shame, and the whole world will be edified.

It is to be hoped that the thought of the need of the Church at home will be no more allowed to damp the enthusiasm which is intended to move men to volunteer for service abroad.

## COMITY OF MISSIONS.

Few persons can have worked for any length of time in the Mission field without having come across numerous instances of hospitality and kindness at the hands of missionaries of all denominations. Many of us number among our personal friends Moravians, Presbyterians, Roman Catholics, Wesleyans, and so forth. It would be quite possible to tell of various acts of inter-comity in the work itself; and these, one is thankful to say, appear to be on the increase. All this must be borne in mind as the following pages are read; but it is only one side of the picture. It is equally true to say that there must be very few missionaries of any experience who have not had strongly impressed upon them, by what they have actually seen, the terrible evils of "our unhappy divisions"; who do not pray constantly that our Lord would not "regard our sins but the faith of His Church, and grant her that peace and unity which is agreeable to His will," and who do not, meanwhile, long for some scheme to be devised which might promote (without any surrender of principle) more common action and greater kindliness of feeling, so that we might be enabled to (i.) avoid overlapping, with the terrible waste which it entails; (ii.) maintain that discipline which is absolutely essential alike for the welfare of the individual and of the communion as a whole; and (iii.) eradicate bitterness and actual hatred among Christians themselves.

Before going on to make those tentative suggestions which are the main object of this article, it may be worth while to add a few words on the three points just named, so that we may be the better able to realise what is too often at present the real state of affairs.

(i.) It is quite true, as we shall see later, that from one point of view, at any rate, it is frequently quite impossible

to prevent a certain amount of overlapping ; on the other hand, there can be no doubt that much of it is avoidable. One has only to think of the countless appeals that come in from all parts of the heathen world, and the vast numbers of those who still have no knowledge of their Saviour, to realise what grievous waste is involved in situations such as these:—A strong English Church Mission and a strong Presbyterian Mission (each with a European staff), some five miles apart ; an English Church Mission and a Dutch Reformed Church Mission in the selfsame little village ; a station of the Berlin Mission and one of the Dutch Reformed Church situated almost side by side. In each one of these cases there may happen to be strong and valid reasons for the position which is occupied—but that is not the question ; it is the waste of which one complains. By all means let us have our well-equipped centres, and our chains of stations in touch with each other, so as to prevent dissipation of strength and escape the very real dangers which attend on isolation. But that is not at all the same as piling up Missions of different denominations in certain places, while at the same time other large districts are grievously undermanned or wholly neglected. If it be true, as is alleged, that there are those who make it a deliberate principle or policy to go where Christ is already preached by others, rather than to those who have never heard His Name, surely—in the face of the facts of heathendom—it is no exaggeration to speak of such a course as criminal waste.

(ii.) Generally speaking, it is in the sphere of discipline that differences between Christian and Christian are most noticeable ; and because of this variety of practice, accompanied by a want of common action among religious bodies, the discipline of all alike suffers ; and frequently those very measures which were designed to have, and which ought to have had, the most salutary effect have actually the most disastrous consequences. Where one communion has a very high standard of self-help, on which it (quite rightly) most firmly insists, there is naturally a strong temptation to the indolent to seek for membership elsewhere, where the obligations will be less onerous. Where an individual has been for some grave fault sus-

pended deservedly from spiritual privileges, the punishment to which he has been subjected is at once more than neutralised if he can, with but little difficulty, gain admission into some other body. It must always be far from easy to keep the Christian life at anything like its proper level—especially, perhaps, when one is dealing with races which, like the Bântu, in spite of many excellent qualities, are largely lacking in the power of self-restraint; or with people like our Cape coloured folk who, with great capabilities in not a few cases, are yet (as is only to be expected from their history) frequently wanting in stability and moral backbone. It is obvious that this difficulty must be enormously increased where there are a number of different religious bodies, not seldom to be found in the very closest contiguity, each following its own system with little or no regard to that of others.

(iii.) It could hardly be expected that overlapping or Missions and varying standards of discipline (both alike factors in the shifting of people from one denomination to another) should fail to bring in their train not merely friction but, at times, actual bitterness and hatred. What must be the feelings of Christians who have for long been fighting an arduous battle and bearing the burden and heat of the day in the midst of heathendom when they see others unexpectedly coming and settling themselves in their own immediate neighbourhood—and because of a difference of discipline (which they themselves judge to be absolutely pernicious and unfaithful to the fulness of Christianity) or a more reverent worship and careful attention to externals (which in their eyes may be a deadly formalism), not only converting the heathen in a way which has been denied to the older Mission—which has, however, really done the hard work of preparation and smoothed the way for these others—but actually drawing away many of their own members? Is it reasonable to imagine that there will be no sore feeling, no resentment or jealousy? Can we even be surprised that this should sometimes pass into positive hatred? A very painful instance of this was forced upon the present writer's notice a considerable number of years ago. Three young men—one colonial and two native—were travelling

up together from Lovedale to Griqualand East, and spent a night on their journey at the hut of a native Christian preacher, situate on the banks of a river, then swollen with heavy rains. They were treated with that hospitality which never fails; but in the course of his prayer that evening the preacher asked that someone of the party might be drowned as they crossed the river on the following day. When prayers were over, the question was naturally put, "What did you mean by praying that one of us might be drowned?" And the answer was quickly given, "Why, you belong to the Church, and I am bound to pray against the Church." It must not be for a moment supposed that such sentiments as these are widely prevalent; but certainly this story does not stand alone—had it done so, no reference should have been made to it. Clearly, work which is carried on on such a basis of ill-will cannot expect God's blessing; and the character built up upon such lines, however much of zeal and hospitality it may be able to show, has still almost everything to learn of the spirit of Christ.

What then can be done—not, indeed, entirely to overcome the evils of a divided Christendom (nothing short of that reunion, which must be the object of our prayers and efforts will ever do that), but at least to minimise them?

The tokens of increasing friendliness among the various religious bodies at work in the Mission field lead one to believe that much might be effected by mutual conference. There are obvious difficulties in the way. It is hard enough for a missionary to find the time and the funds to attend his own Diocesan Synod, and perhaps also the Provincial Synod and Provincial Missionary Conference. The very mention of a general conference of all Christian denominations suggests further and more serious obstacles. Would not a meeting of this kind be almost equivalent to the condonation of schism? Is there not a danger that it might lead to the watering down of doctrine and suppression of truth?

Such misgivings and questions are, perhaps, only natural. But that which is here proposed is not, of course, just a meeting with the vague, indefinite purpose of showing

a general goodwill and giving a kind of recognition to all who can by any means be called fellow-labourers ; but a conference for very practical purposes, and one which would (as will be presently shown) make perfectly clear the principles of the historic Church, and indeed of all communions which send representatives to it, and would give no colour to the belief that the maintenance of the Catholic faith and practice in its entirety is a matter of indifference. As a matter of fact, it has been shown that conferences of this kind can be attended by the most staunch Churchmen without any compromise or surrender of principle. It is possible that common action between different Christian communions has been more fully tried elsewhere—*e.g.*, in China—and THE EAST AND THE WEST may be able to let us hear some interesting experiences of what has actually been done. In South Africa also, Christians of various denominations, including, in some cases, Roman Catholics, have shown that they can act together. In both Capetown and Johannesburg—in the one case by a public meeting, in the other by a conference—the cause of the Christian Sunday has been jointly defended. In Capetown and Natal joint conferences have been held on the subject of education. Still more to the point is it to notice the missionary conference held yearly in Natal—open to all—and the similar conferences which have been held in Johannesburg, in which the Bishop of Lebombo and other Churchmen have taken an active part. The method, then, has in some degree been tried, and not wholly without success. What one would desire to see is its application to this particular matter which is now engaging our attention—a conference of leading missionaries of all Christian denominations who should come together simply to consider this one distinctive question of the Comity of Missions. They would recognise that for many of them intercommunion and interchange of pulpits is absolutely impossible ; but they would meet in the presence of the Holy Spirit, bent on trying to carry truth, courtesy, and common sense into their mutual dealings in the Mission field.

In order to see which are the particular points at which we should aim in any such conference, we must

first examine more carefully the causes which lead to our difficulties. They can, it is believed (as may be gathered from what has already been written), be briefly summed up as follows: Contiguity of different Missions, Variety of discipline, Exchange of one communion for another. These are the three chief factors with which we have to deal. The first and the last must still (for the present) remain to some extent, although it may be possible to make some practical suggestions about them; it will, therefore, be more convenient to take the other matter first.

(a) It might, perhaps, be found, as a result of such conference or conferences, that it was possible to adopt largely, if not entirely, a common system of discipline. This, from every point of view, would be an enormous gain. Even if this should prove to be out of the question, still it can hardly be doubted that the mere discussion and consideration of those disciplinary matters in which we differ, which, moreover, enter so much into the lives of the missionary and his flock, would be a great advantage for us all; that we should learn from others, and that they in turn would learn from us. Some of the questions that would fall to be examined under this head are as follow: *Self-support*.—What is a fair sum to be expected from individual members of the native Church, men and women? What should be the age at which these regular contributions should first be payable? In the case of those who are clearly able to pay, and are simply shirking their responsibilities and neglecting a plain Christian duty through laziness, what action is to be taken? *Baptism of children, born of Christian parentage, but out of wedlock*. Are such children to be considered normally subjects for Holy Baptism at all, or only *in articulo mortis*? May the Sacrament be administered in the case of one child, but not (under ordinary circumstances) if the sin be repeated? Or, in the latter case, may the child be baptized if it be handed over to godly godparents for education? *Length of catechumenate*.—Attention has been called from time to time to instances in the work of various Christian bodies where Holy Baptism appears to have been administered to adults after very little preparation. It would be a cause of great thankfulness if all missionaries could



agree that the normal length of a formal catechumenate should not be less than a year, during which the candidate is to receive constant instruction and be under adequate supervision, and is to be seen (as an individual, not merely as one of a class) by the missionary himself in person and not only by his catechists.

Many other matters will readily suggest themselves to all who have any experience of evangelistic work among the heathen; as, for instance, in South Africa, the line to be taken with regard to Kafir beer, ukulobola (the payment of cattle dowry), and the rite of circumcision. These are merely mentioned as samples.

(b) However much it might be found possible to approximate to a common standard, it is almost certain that some differences of discipline would still remain between different communions. These will naturally be most strongly felt, and have the most direct effect, where Missions lie close together. We shall, therefore, go on to consider the question of Contiguity of Missions, in some respects the most important of all, because it is here that the waste of power comes in.

Here we have to examine at least two distinct cases, where action on the part of missionaries might lead to the formation of two Missions side by side. One of these is the commencement of a new work among heathen people; the other, the following up of the members of our own communions in their migrations.

1. It would probably be the case that all would be ready, or could be brought to agree to such a conclusion as this: *Where work is to be undertaken among heathen, missionaries shall not, without urgent cause, begin new operations in a locality where other Christians are already in the field.* The proposition is unavoidably couched in terms which are very general and vague, and such as may, therefore, give rise to dispute unless they are interpreted in a Christian spirit; but it is very easy to see what is meant. The important words, of course, are *urgent cause* and *locality*. There are places or countries to which a clear call comes, although there are other Christian bodies already at work; and such a call one is bound to follow. To take an example from South Central

Africa. For many years a most self-denying work has been carried on among the Barotse by a French Protestant Mission. But Barotseland now forms a part of Northern Rhodesia; and it becomes our duty to follow up our own fellow countrymen, as well as to carry the Gospel to those natives who are within our sphere of influence. Naturally every effort will be made to avoid clashing with pre-existing work—and indeed to a very large extent this ought to be possible in so large a country, for here the word “locality” does not apply. But even if it did, there is an obvious duty here which at once establishes the “urgent cause.”

Such a case as this shows how impossible it must be to avoid altogether contiguity of Missions. This becomes, it may be, still more clear when we come to consider how to deal with the migration of Christian people.

2. One of the ways in which Christianity is being constantly diffused is to be found in the migratory habits of the natives. People who have been converted in one place, or who, perhaps, were baptized as children and educated on some Mission station will, after a while, move elsewhere because that particular spot is becoming too thickly populated, because the “gardens” are not satisfactory, because of persistent drought or constant hailstorms or the like. They move away, and they carry faithfully with them their Christianity. The new home, if it be situate among heathen people, becomes a fresh centre of light. Word is sent by these Christian newcomers to the nearest missionary of the communion to which they belong, or more probably one or more of them will pay him a visit in person to show their certificates, and to give full information about the place where they have established themselves. The missionary, in his turn, goes up to visit them, and the kraal becomes the nucleus of a fresh out-station.

All this is simple and matter for heartfelt thankfulness. But suppose these people have gone to some heathen headman, who has placed them in the closest proximity to a Wesleyan or Presbyterian station in his district. What is to be done then?

Here is a point on which, it is probable, no real agree-

ment could be reached among missionaries of different denominations. Some would almost certainly say : These persons should join the religious body into whose neighbourhood they have come ; they shall be accepted on the strength of their certificates, if these be up to date, and shall be given, without examination or probation, precisely the same ecclesiastical status as they had in their old home.

This is, clearly, a conclusion to which we ourselves could never agree. The utmost we could hope to do would probably be to obtain acceptance for a formula like this : *It is no breach of Christian courtesy for a missionary to follow up his own people.* We ourselves should of course go much further than that ; and instead of being content with the negative statement would desire to affirm positively (for all alike, not for the English Church and Roman Catholics only) : " The Christian missionary is bound, as a pastoral duty, to follow up the members of his flock."

We now have, *ex hypothesi*, two different denominations side by side, not in a town location where the conditions are very different, but out in the open country ; the one already in possession of the ground with a station of some kind, the other a new arrival. The problem before us is as follows : How are the newcomers to be adequately ministered to by their own missionary, without injury being done to the work that is already in existence.

A " station " has, as a rule, at any rate eventually, its Church and school, its preacher or catechist (paid or unpaid) and its schoolmaster, unless these two offices are held in combination. If the newcomers, whose case we are now considering, are really quite close to this old station of the other denomination, and find there a school in actual existence, it would seem a hard act on their part to start one of their own, which would be almost sure to operate to the detriment of that which is already established, even supposing it were possible for them to do so. As a matter of fact financial reasons would probably prevent their taking such action. In this case, the religious teaching must be given at home by the preacher (if there be one) or the parents, before the children go to school or after they return. For services, at the first in any case,

a Church hut would be the only building required or contemplated. And as long as no substantial Church is built, so long the juxtaposition of the two distinct communions in such close proximity may be felt to be merely temporary. But if the congregation of the newcomers should grow through conversions among the heathen, the question of erecting a proper Church will eventually have to be faced; and if the congregation become large enough for that, it ought to be able to support its own school. Then we have practically two stations side by side; using different methods, and probably filled with rivalry and jealousy.

It is doubtful if any really satisfactory solution of this difficulty can be found. Our efforts might more usefully be turned to prevention than to the cure of what would seem to be incurable. Missionaries could, it is believed, in time so instruct their people that they themselves would be careful to see that the situation should never arise: for it is they with whom the primary responsibility rests, and not the missionary. Meanwhile it might be possible to agree to some such arrangement as this, vague and unsatisfactory as it is: *Where Christians are followed up by their missionaries, as far as possible no actual "station" shall be formed in close proximity to one already in existence.* To this might be added: *Missionaries shall be careful to urge their people always to consult with them before removing to any new place, so that waste and possible friction may be avoided.* It is only right and reasonable that the spiritual should take precedence of the material in determining the choice of a home and directing the course of the wanderer, just as much as in other things. The two cases which we have considered are those out of which contiguity of Missions would most frequently arise. Other circumstances are quite conceivable which would also lead to the same result. It might well be the fact—as indeed it has at times been in the past—that half of a mission might go over to some other religious body. Should this happen in a town or village, where the daily life and surroundings are in many respects those of a European community, the situation thus created is not so difficult to handle; should it, however, happen in those large Native Reserves which

form so much of South Africa, the position must be full of embarrassment. But this contingency is not so common as to necessitate a full consideration here.

Only a year ago a curious case occurred in the diocese of Capetown, where a small up-country village, already provided with Churches belonging to the Dutch Reformed Church, the Church of the Province, and the Berlin Mission, was visited by a minister belonging to yet another Christian denomination, who made a journey of some fifty miles to hold services in the place although, as far as he knew, no members of his own communion resided there. This might have led—and, indeed, may lead—to the establishment of that form of Christianity in the village. But the writer has never heard of similar action in the Mission field (as the term is generally understood) and therefore does not feel it necessary to consider the case among those which might lead to contiguity of Missions.

(c) We come now to examine the question of changes from one Christian communion to another—changes which can hardly fail to bring with them distress, if not heart-burnings and jealousies. Such alterations of faith and discipline there are bound to be as long as Christendom is divided. The initial causes which lead to them are as varied in South Africa as no doubt they are elsewhere, and range all down the scale. With some from the very outset, even before the instruction preliminary to reception is given, it is a conviction of the unsoundness of their own position which is the moving factor. Sometimes the marriage has been a “mixed” one, and the husband and wife are now anxious that there shall be the fullest religious unity. Elsewhere, the lack of provision of means of grace by the body to which they belong drives people to look to some other quarter. Or, again, the fuller ceremonial of the historic Church may prove to be the first attraction. There are other cases where (as already indicated) it can hardly be doubted that that which is really sought for (however much the postulant may seek to disguise it) is a life in which the obligations will be less onerous, or else escape from some discipline which often has been quite rightly exercised, although sometimes, in the view of an outsider, it may seem harsh and unreasonable. Every

denomination alike—by no means excluding the Roman Catholics—suffers from such “leakage.” In South Africa, for various causes, the English Church probably gains far more than any other communion by such alterations ; and this is one of several reasons why it must always expect to be looked upon with some distrust and jealousy. All the movements on a large scale, of which the present writer has had knowledge during twenty-five years in South Africa, have been towards the Church of the Province. As it is as impossible for us as it would be for the Roman Catholics to agree to that inter-communion, or refusal to accept any converts from other bodies, which alone could put a stop to these changes and the friction which they necessarily bring with them, we must see whether it is possible to lay down any principles which may diminish the soreness and strengthen the discipline of us all alike.

(i.) No doubt each one of us believes that the faith of the communion to which he himself belongs is the purest and the most consonant to the mind of our Lord : it is the sole justification for our perpetuated divisions that we do so believe with absolute firmness ; and that being the case, it follows that we must long to see others accepting that which we are ourselves entirely convinced is the more perfect way. But surely that is quite compatible with a refusal to proselytize among Christians who, through the sacrament of Holy Baptism, have been made members of Christ and brought into His Church. We have enough, and more than enough, to do in the conversion of the heathen, and the edification of those who are more immediately our own people, without disturbing others who (however imperfectly to our mind and with whatever loss to themselves) do already hold the Christian faith, and are being taught and cared for by their own missionaries. Nor must we forget that proselytizing is very hazardous, and not therefore to be lightly undertaken without adequate cause. It may only succeed in unsettling a faith that was definite, without substituting for it a riper faith. There is, too, such a thing as Christian courtesy. It may not be easy exactly to define how that Christian courtesy is to show itself in a condition of affairs which is itself clearly

contrary to the will of God ; but it may well be thought that it comes in as a subsidiary argument against attempting to alter, of set purpose, the faith of those who have already been brought into the Christian fold. We might, therefore, surely without any compromise or surrender of principle, agree that *missionaries shall not deliberately proselytize among Christians*. How far such proselytizing actually goes on it is hard to say ; but it would be a real gain if we could even banish an unreasonable dread of it.

(ii.) Even so, there will still be cases arising of persons desirous to pass from one communion to another. Clearly any such loss must be a real grief to the mind of a true pastor who appreciates the differences of Christian doctrine ; and it is rightly to be expected that all missionaries would do their utmost to retain their own people in all ways that are honourable. On the other hand, if we all believe that our own faith and discipline is the nearest to the truth, even though we do not proselytize, we cannot but be glad to welcome any who desire to be shown the way of God more fully. It must, then, be made plain that *It is no breach of Christian courtesy for a missionary to use every right and fair effort to retain his own members ; nor is it any breach of Christian courtesy for a missionary to receive into the communion to which he belongs members of other denominations*. The first half of this clause excludes detraction and misrepresentation, both of which, it is to be feared, are not unknown. Then must be added a rider of primary importance. *In all such cases, certificates of ecclesiastical status and character or letters testimonial shall be demanded on the one side and given on the other*. If our conference led only to a common understanding on this last point it would not have been thrown away. It would at once put a stop to all those pernicious changes which have as their real object an escape from legitimate and needed discipline. It is not supposed that missionaries are in the habit of receiving converts from other Christian bodies without inquiries, investigation, probation and instruction ; but it is often very difficult to arrive at the truth of either motives or facts without the help of those who have hitherto stood in the relation of pastors to these people. But it is

certainly the case at present that newcomers from other religious bodies are (whether often or seldom) received without any documents from their former missionaries, because it is believed that experience has shown that such letters or papers are unfairly withheld. This is clearly a state of affairs which is most unsatisfactory, but one which it ought to be perfectly possible to remedy.

Such are the main lines on which it seems we might try to secure something like a common action on the part of missionaries and all their fellow-workers, and so minimise the evils of our divisions and help forward that which is the common aim of us all—the coming of the Kingdom of our Lord. Other points may, perhaps, be suggested by others, while some of those indicated here may be called in question even by those who believe in the value of a conference. It is no doubt true that the unavoidable vagueness of some of the conclusions open the door to misunderstandings; but these are far less likely to occur where the whole subject has been fully discussed, and the different missionaries (white and black) have been brought into direct relation with each other, have joined in common prayer, and have learnt to believe that they are all alike actuated by the highest motives, and will behave as honourable Christian men. Some of the conclusions, on the other hand, are so clear and definite that there is no loophole left for evasion of any kind. Some people may feel that the assertion of definite principle which runs through the whole discussion, and voices itself to some extent in some of the formulæ suggested, would wreck the whole conference. The writer does not for one moment believe it. He can well imagine that some missionaries would be found to think, as a Moravian missionary once said to the late Bishop of St. John's and two of his clergy, "I should like to take a gun and shoot your principles!" But he has not forgotten that this vehement assertion meant no diminution of hospitality or friendliness. After all, the very emphasising of our differences, if it be in a Christian spirit, and the marking of a point beyond which concession cannot go, has its good side. It makes people think and inquire and then, perhaps, pray, and then come to confer again,



this time with a wider and more glorious aim in view—reunion.

There, let it be repeated, is the good side of our difficulties—difficulties which can only be lessened, never wholly removed, as long as Christendom is divided. They will keep us from acquiescing in our “unhappy divisions.” They will never let us rest until we have found the perfect remedy, which lies only in following the Will of the Master, “that they may be one.”

ALAN G. S. GIBSON (Bishop).

NOTE.—Since the above was written, the Constitution of the Order of Ethiopia has been received. Two clauses may be quoted here as bearing on the suggestions of this article. 2 (*b*). “It must, however, be understood that as churchmen outside the Order should not endeavour to draw away members (*adherents*) from the Order, so neither must members (*adherents*) of the Order endeavour to draw into it persons who have hitherto belonged to a Mission or Congregation of the Church unconnected with the Order, except under the express permission of the Bishop of the diocese concerned.” 40. “No new Mission work shall be begun by the Order within ten miles of any Mission station or out-station of the diocese without the consent of the diocesan Bishop. With regard to Missions already in existence, all difficulties arising from proximity shall be left to the judgment of the diocesan Bishop.” (This clause is taken over from the compact of 1900.)

## PROGRESS OF MISSION WORK IN NATAL AND ZULULAND

It is my intention in this short treatise to throw some light not so much on the quantitative as on the qualitative progress of the Mission work in Natal and Zululand.

There are at least thirty-one societies, out of which seventeen are working in Natal and Zululand. The work in these last named countries is comparatively young; the Americans started in the year 1835, shortly after a first solitary attempt had been made by Captain Gardener from England, who afterwards gave his life in his endeavour to bring the Gospel to the inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego. Captain Gardener has written an interesting book about his journeys from Durban up to the Zulu king. These journeys resulted in the acquisition by the few colonists of the township and the bay of Port Natal and its nearest surroundings.

After the Americans the Norwegian Mission was the next to commence work in Zululand, in 1844, under the university-trained minister (later bishop) Schreuder, together with other ordained Norwegian coadjutors; and after his separation from *The Norwegian Mission Society* he founded the Church of Norway Mission in 1873, he having first, in 1843, announced to the Norwegian Church his intention of going out as a missionary to South Africa (before the Society had started its work), instantly after his having finished his theological studies at the university of Christiania. It ought here to be remarked that to Bishop Schreuder also lay the foundation to a much greater Church of Lutherans in Madagascar than that which has resulted from his work here on the continent.

Now we may count in round numbers the natives in Natal to be about 800,000, and in Zululand about 200,000.

We must, however, remember, that originally the term *Zululand* comprised not alone the present Zululand but the whole of Natal. Out of these two million natives we may now count more than one Christian among every forty natives. The bastards or coloured people are not included in this calculation. The total number of Christians is 54,000 or thereabout. The Norwegian Mission agencies have been much hampered by the above-named separation and by their isolation in a far-away country under the sway of the British power. The result at present is for the Norwegian Mission Society 3,637 Christians, for the Church of Norway Mission 1,663 (statistics of the year 1905). The Church of England Mission shows by far the greatest result of all Missions to the Zulus, notwithstanding that it commenced its work only as late as in 1870.<sup>1</sup> It shows, I might guess, what English Church Missions can attain in their own Government colonies. The result is (in 1905) 12,517 Christian souls. Bishop Schreuder, the founder of the Norwegian Mission to the Zulus, opened also by his influence with the Zulu kings in those early days the door for the entrance of the Swedish Mission (commencing under his administration), and for the Hermannsburg (Hanoverian) Mission, both into Natal and into Zululand. These Missions are also both Lutheran (the Hermannsburg Mission in 1905 had 4,000 Christians, the Swedish Mission 2,332 Christians). The four Lutheran Missions together therefore comprise 11,632 Christians. There are some other free agencies also concerned here, counting themselves, as far as I know, Lutherans, and having several hundred adherents. Hereto comes the Berlin Mission, closely related to the Lutheran Church of Germany, having a number of 3,591 Christians. If we take them also within the nomination of Lutherans, we get 15,600 Lutheran natives for Natal and Zululand. But the fact should be stated that many societies have not counted their small baptized children, who have not yet entered school, amongst their members. This remark concerns

<sup>1</sup> The Wesleyans have over 1,400 native Zulu Christians, but then their Mission has been in activity since 1814 here in South Africa. On the other hand I cannot find out whether they and some other societies commenced work in Natal before the Americans and the Norwegians. Practically Bishop Schreuder opened up Zululand proper for Mission work.

all Missions in Natal and Zululand. The whole number in 1905 perhaps exceeded 60,000 baptized Christians, and now, in 1907, the number will be considerably greater. So far about the quantity.

It is very difficult to speak of the quality of the progress of the Zulu Mission. I shall try to do so shortly from the standpoint of a Lutheran clergyman and theologian, and out of an experience of twenty-four years in this Mission work. But first we must set before our eyes the stuff we have to form into a spiritual building of Christ. Therefore a few words about the character of the people we are working amongst.

The Zulus are a strongly built, warlike nation, swift on their feet as the antique warriors of Homer; they are hospitable, hilarious, loving arguments, reasons and court proceedings. They have learnt also to tell lies most excellently, because a word in the days of Tshaka would easily cost the speaker his life, and therefore they also have made a theatrical progress in simulation. One of their most striking characteristics is openness of mind, for if you can succeed in revealing their most subtle simulations or dissimulations they will laugh so heartily that you cannot but admire their natural disposition to frankness. I have written a book in Norwegian, "The Aim of the Zulu Mission—the Heart of Africa," and in this book I have tried to show that the entire Bantu population is really a Semitic offspring (from Joktan and his three sons Sheba, Ophir, and Havila). The shortest, plainest, and most difficult expressions in the Hebrew may, generally, when verbally translated, be more easily intelligible to a Zulu ear and Zulu mind than to any European mind, even if the European be entirely imbued with Semitic literature. The purest Zulu is spoken in Zululand. It is more dialectic in Natal and in Swasiland. It is spoken excellently also by the male Tongas (but not by their females) even in the Portuguese possessions in the north. The Zulus went to the north under and after Tshaka's bloody rule, and penetrated into Matabeleland, and on both sides of Nyassa along the eastern shore of Tanganyika as far as the Victoria Nyassa. Their language conquered not less than their assegais. Their language is the most unspoiled and original

of the Bantu languages, and ought to be the vehicle of Zulu Missions up the south coast of Nyassa among the Zulu offspring. The Royal members of Tshaka's family still excel all others in the pronunciation of the Zulu language, most of all Dinuzulu himself. Before Tshaka's throne it might cost the life of a messenger if he did not speak the language to the satisfaction of the ruler. I must add here, what ought to have been marked above, that the Zulus most often do not thank for a benefit shown unto them, but ten or twenty years later that benefit may save the life of him who has shown it. They never forget even a small benignity, and they have a great sense of duty towards those who are over them. A Zulu heathen carried three Europeans out of certain death in a mine. They offered him gold. He shed tears, and said, "I did it not for gold, but because you were my lords."

Now the Zulus are a carnal people, as all African natives, and they may at times show very small progress in Christian virtues after their conversion, and a great number of relapses into open sin.

For the true edification of the Church of Christ amongst this people three things are needed: 1. To teach, preach and explain the true Word of God, as it is written in the Holy Bible. 2. The vigilant punishment of public sins by public church discipline. 3. Burning, never ceasing love of the people amongst whom work is being done, whether Christian or heathen. If one sees only the evil, and not the good side of this people, he will fall short in his love of the whole nation, and consequently of his vocation amongst them. He will get tired of preaching to so hard a people, and his ardour will cool down. God grant that every missionary may beware of such a result for himself. Love the Zulus, or take leave of them, I cry out of my whole soul as my earnest advice. All missionaries may have shared the experience, that the second generation of Christians, from this cruel people, is the worst, so one might easily despair by looking only to that.

But there is no doubt that the leaven is also here more and more penetrating the whole mass by holy fermentations. In the early times the converts had only to cling to the missionary and to his family life in opposition to

the heathen darkness of the whole nation, in order to start Christian conversation and manners—and they had often too little light in themselves and in the congregation, there being but few books and the missionaries being comparatively unacquainted with customs and the language. Now, in the last eight or ten years, the mass of the people have come more and more in contact with Christianity through the many evangelists, who have been educated and sent out amongst them, and by having learned to see that the work of Mission is a work of love also through the treatment of their sick and poor. There has been a wonderful alteration for the better over the whole of Natal and Zululand. There is also another circumstance to be noted in this connection. Polygamy has been one of the worst obstacles to Christianity amongst the Zulus. The married males held themselves aloof from all touch with the Missions. For they said: “The missionaries will break our marriages, otherwise they will not have us in their congregations. That is abominable, and we forbid therefore our wives and our girls to become Christians.” And they fought their patriarchal rights victoriously in the law courts. Now the pressure of the Gospel has become too strong. The women and girls will believe, and the men have begun to yield to their wishes. Most of the Mission agencies do not allow the practice of baptizing more than one of the wives of the polygamist, nor the polygamist himself whilst still living in polygamy. They admit such females and males as standing catechumens. Here, however, it should be observed that the marriage is practically at an end when the age of bearing children has passed for a wife; the marriage connection is then discontinued, and she is practically a widow, and may move away from her husband’s kraal. Sometimes, when the women observe that their common husband wishes to become a Christian, they may leave him and his kraal. They are then to be looked upon as widows, and in many cases they may then become Christians. Polygamy is vanishing more and more, not alone because of the intrusion of Christian teaching and faith amongst the people, but because the young people, going out to work, come in touch with European customs, get a growing

held as centres for congregations, but under the expansion of the dominion, and settlement of the Europeans over the lands of the colony, it will be more necessary than at any time before to educate and send out native evangelists, teachers and ministers to certain places—mostly in the low-lands and deserts which are still crowded with natives. It is therefore of the highest importance to have schools for the higher education of such workers in connection with the various denominations. We in our mission consider it the best method to have as many catechumens living under the inspection of the missionary in his own home as possible. We receive therefore all young unmarried heathens, also widows and children with or without parents alive, coming from the heathen locations in order to be taught and become Christians. The two genders, with the exception of very small children, are kept separated, the girls partially in separate homes under administration of ladies, the boys in other accommodations a good distance from the females in connection with the kitchen in the missionary's own house.

The young girls are exposed to many temptations because of the weak sides of this people's habits and nature. We regard it as of special importance to have evangelists and native ministers to disperse amongst the locations—some being sent down for regular weekly journeys, and some being stationed in fixed abodes. Such practice has, in my opinion, done much to further the work of the Church of England Mission. But want of money may to a great extent hamper the endeavours of the poorer Missions' endeavours in a similar direction. However, I have for a number of years worked a native theological seminary for the purpose, and hope now in the near future to be able to get several ordained native ministers located a considerable distance from our head-stations. I let them read and hear theology for about five years after they have been taught and educated as evangelists, or three years after their confirmation.

The native missionaries can come nearer to the natives than any white missionary, not only because of their pronunciation of the language and of their knowledge concerning the customs of the people, but because of the

people trusting them as being of their own kin. My ideal of missionary work is, therefore, to have native ministers as resident chaplains—say, some four or six in number—under the supervision of each European well-educated minister, and the European minister to be properly visited by a superintendent or a bishop. But I may add the European (or American) clergymen ought to have as high an education in ancient languages and in theology as possible; and the native clergymen ought to be taught meekness under the high Holy Word of God, and its explanation founded on God-fearing and Bible-loving exposition. The more they understand the greatness of the learning required for the true exposition, the more they will learn true humbleness under the Divine Word and its deep mysteries, both in form and content. The teaching, of course, of dogmatical doctrine must also be sufficient. It is very important to give them as full knowledge as possible in the exposition of the Prophets and Psalms. I ought not to forget to say that in a British colony the English language and the English Bible ought to be the classical language and text for the seminary. The Zulu Bible alone cannot be used—least of all in its present imperfect state—because of the difficulty of translating certain expressions and of retaining the plain, pious, biblical form. Even if ever so good a translation could be obtained, a civilized language of a great nation, containing all abstractions of ideas in a clear form, cannot be dispensed with as a vehicle for Bible study. Hundreds of years must elapse before the Zulu language, even under the most favourable conditions, could reach such a development. On the other hand, I will also add that the young Zulus might learn Hebrew more easily than other foreign languages if properly taught them from their early school days—the more so as the power of imitation in the Zulu people is so great. Perhaps no nation in the world has so great a power of assimilation and application. For instance: our native school children, having been a few years in school, often get a clearer and more beautiful handwriting than European people who have gone through a university.

Some of the South African natives have gone to



colleges and universities in America and England to study. It would, however, be much better if the Zulus and other South African natives could have the opportunity of attaining a higher level in their studies without leaving South Africa. A South African College for higher native education, which is now nearing its realisation, will be of educational value for the whole Zulu nation and for the whole of South Africa. The *literature* in the Zulu tongue is now increasing to a considerable extent. There are many Christian periodicals being issued. The Lutheran Church Conference issues 1,000 copies of *Isitunywa* (The Messenger) once a month. As already said, the Zulu language is much used outside Zululand and Natal. Many Zulus and Tongas are being collected in the towns of mines, particularly in Johannesburg, where there are several Zulu Missions at work. It ought to be mentioned that these Missions are reaching up to the Limpopo, and even further, by teaching the mine workers and the town servants, and sending them afterwards as missionaries to their different home countries.

I finish these few observations with an ardent wish that all Christians may help us in sincere prayers for the whole African continent and its population, and particularly for the gifted Zulus. And God, our heavenly Father, will hear our prayers and grant their gracious fulfilment in the Name of our beloved Saviour.

NILS ASTROP (BISHOP).

## MOHAMMEDAN EXPLANATIONS OF THE FAILURE OF MOHAMMEDANISM.

### A CONFERENCE AT MECCAH.

To those who are interested in the reform of the Islamic peoples—by whatever means they hope such reform may be effected—there is no more encouraging sign than any acknowledgment on the part of Moslems that their religion has proved inferior to some other in the mental or moral equipment of its followers. The dreary annals of Mohammedan sovereigns—many of them well-intentioned and capable men—rarely furnish evidence of any such suspicion. Sultan after Sultan builds mosques, schools of law, hospices for Sufis: the world's ills, they suppose, are to be cured by larger and ever larger quantities of the same drug; the possibility that the drug is itself inefficient or that other drugs may be more efficient is not even considered.

So long as Islam was politically formidable this belief might remain undisturbed. The course of events which has placed by far the great majority of Moslems under Christian governments has compelled some of them to question it. A system that both in theory and in practice kept aloof from politics might not be affected by the political decadence of its adherents; but one which started as a political system, conquering and subduing, is seriously affected by circumstances which compel it to resign its imperial claims. When it can no longer be denied that for knowledge, for comfort, and even for personal safety, Moslems go to countries of which the governing power is Christian, and emigrate from such as are under Moslem domination, the question why this should be suggests itself to many minds. And it is a sign of the awakening of the Moslem mind that such a question should be raised, and solutions, however inadequate, be given to it.

The title of this paper is derived from a pamphlet called *Ummal-Kurâ* ("the Mother of the Villages," a name for Meccah), published at Port Said in 1316 A.H. (1899 A.D.), and purporting to contain the minutes of a debate held in Meccah on successive days from the 15th to the 29th of Dhu'l-Ki'dah (March 27 to April 10) in that year. The debaters were a party of twenty-three persons, assembled to discuss the reasons for the decay of Islam, and the means by which it could be resuscitated. Christian protection appears to be indispensable even for those who—in the Sanctuary of Islam, which no Christian may enter—wish to discuss the needs of their religion : for the reporter of the debate, who was mainly instrumental in getting it up, in order to be safe from interference, hired a room in the name of a Russian subject. He then, with the aid of a gelatine press borrowed of an Indian merchant staying in Meccah, printed and distributed twenty-two leaflets containing a brief account of all the members of his parliament, with a cypher for their use. The names of these persons are not to be learned from the minutes, but apparently their countries are given correctly : whence they figure in the following series :

The Sayyid Furâtî (from the Euphrates) ; the Excellent Shâmi (from Damascus) ; the Eloquent Kudst (from Jerusalem) ; the Perfect Iskandari (from Alexandria) ; the Doctor Misri (from Cairo) ; the Traditionalist Yamani (from Yemen) ; the Hâfiz Basri (from Bassorah) ; the Learned Najdi (from Nejd) ; the Metaphysician Madani (from Medinah) ; the Professor Makki (from Meccah) ; the Physician Tûnist (from Tunis) ; the Director Fâsi (from Fez) ; the Happy Englishman ; the Muzla Rûmi (from Turkey in Europe) ; the Mathematician Kurdi (from Kurdistan) ; the Mujtahid Tabrizi (from Tebriz) ; the Accomplished Tâtâri (from Tartary) ; the Orator Kâzâni (from Kazan) ; the Investigator Turki (from Turkey) ; the Jurisconsult Afghâni (from Afghanistan) ; the Sâhib Hindi (from India) ; the Shaikh Sindî (from Sinde) ; the Imâm Sini (from China).

When the twenty-three members had solemnly undertaken certain obligations, the organiser of the society suggested that a Chairman should be appointed, and,

being given the right of selecting one, appointed the Meccan Professor to the post, while himself undertaking that of Secretary, whose duty it would be to take minutes of the proceedings, and read them out at the commencement of each following meeting: procedure which was clearly borrowed from that of English debating societies.

The Chairman, having to deliver an inaugural address, "knit his brows," but presently relaxed them, and spoke at considerable length. He regarded the question of the decadence of Islam as an old one—more than a thousand years in age; he held that there was no lack of treatises on the subject by capable writers, only that these had shrunk from going into detail; and he wound up by dividing the subject to be discussed by the society into ten heads, as follows: The seat of the disease; the accidents attending the disease; the roots of the disease; the essence of the disease; the means of applying the remedy; the essence of Islam; the way in which belief in that religion should be exhibited; the essence of secret polytheism; how innovations are to be opposed; the drawing up of rules for the foundation of a society for propaganda.

After this speech the Secretary (the Sayyid from the Euphrates) entertained the company at a meal, where their English colleague interested them by an account of the Mission at Liverpool. They were then treated to tea, coffee, and iced drinks, and after these parted, to reassemble the following Wednesday.

The second day's debate began with an important assertion on the part of the Chairman. It was that wherever there were two neighbouring countries, districts, villages, or houses, the one Moslem and the other non-Moslem, the Moslems are less energetic, worse organised in all matters, personal and social, and less skilful in all arts and trades than the non-Moslems, though superior to the others in virtues, such as trustworthiness, courage, and liberality. This sweeping assertion he was afterwards induced to restrict, when the Indian gentleman pointed out that the condition of the Moslems was superior, or not inferior, to that of Pagans and Buddhists. Someone else wished to add that of Atheists and Freethinkers;

but another speaker denied that such persons really existed. Evidently, then, the assertion of the Chairman, so far as it referred to Christians (and perhaps Parsees and Jews) was unchallenged ; and now a whole series of causes began to be alleged.

When these came to be summed up, at the seventh meeting, from the Secretary's minutes, it was found that no fewer than fifty-six had been suggested, which could be classified as religious, political, and moral. Thus, on an average, each speaker suggested three causes, some of which the Secretary marks as Roots, others as Branches. Perhaps the whole list does not deserve translation, but there are undoubtedly some cases in which the Moslem diagnosis coincides with that given by non-Moslem physicians.

The first cause suggested was the doctrine of Fatalism, which is supposed to numb effort and paralyse energy. The second was the ascetic doctrine, which depreciates the value of what the world can give. From these we jump to the fifteenth, the widespread belief in an opposition between Islam and science, physical or metaphysical ; and thence to the twenty-first, obstinate rejection of religious liberty, through ignorance of its advantages.

The rest of the "religious causes," of which there are nineteen, would not appeal to the non-Moslem as at all likely to explain the problem. But it is very doubtful whether all these four are adequate. Determinism is a characteristic doctrine of at least one race the energy and ability of which are unsurpassed. Moslem asceticism from the time of the Prophet onwards has been exceedingly partial ; just as Seneca's admiration for poverty did not prevent him amassing a couple of millions and putting them out at interest, so the ascetic Abd al-Kadir not only had four wives and forty-nine children, but decked himself in stuffs so costly that the Baghdad dealer had no other customer for them except the Caliph. At one time when the cities of Islam were filled with hospices in which ample provision was made for holy men, perhaps an unreasonable proportion of the inhabitants were attracted to the religious life ; but in these days most of those benefactions have been diverted to other purposes.

On the other hand the political causes seem to be better calculated to explain the difficulty, in the few countries in which Islam is a political power. They are sixteen in number. The first is the system of government—absolute and irresponsible despotism ; among the other noticeable items are the prohibition of free speech, the want of equality of rights between the different classes, the want of proper encouragement to learning, the restriction of the attention of the government to the collection of taxes and the maintenance of the army. Of the presence of these evils in Islamic states with far-reaching effects there is no question.

The Moral causes contain few important items, and several that have also figured as religious or political. Examples of the matter collected under this head are : Cause 41, "Despair of attaining to the rank of those who are successful in religion and worldly affairs" ; Cause 42, "The desire for obscurity, in order to enjoy quiet" ; Cause 49, "Inactivity due to hopelessness" ; Cause 50, "Neglect to claim public rights out of cowardice and fear of mutual betrayal."

The contribution made to the discussion by the Secretary himself, who spoke after the suggestions of the others had all been registered, was much the greatest. To the fifty-six causes assigned he himself added no fewer than twenty. Of these, eleven belonged to the sphere of Ottoman administration, which the Secretary criticized somewhat in the style of Mr. Brailsford's "Macedonia" : the matter contained in this section accounts for the secrecy observed, and the fact that the book could not be issued in Turkey. To the catalogue of administrative abuses which accounted for the decadence of Islam he added a list of nine miscellaneous causes, of which the first seems still to belong exclusively to the Ottoman Empire, but the remainder hold good of Mohammedan countries generally. Cause 83, "Neglect of female education," constitutes so real an explanation of some of the phenomena that it may be worth while translating the paragraph devoted to it in the Secretary's speech : "The weakness of our characters is to be accounted for by yet another important cause, connected with women—I mean

their being left ignorant, unlike what was the case with our ancestors, when women were to be found like A'ishah, Mother of the Believers, with whom God be pleased, from whom we have received half our theological knowledge. So, too, there were hundreds of women in the time of the Companions of the Prophet and the Epigoni, who recited traditions, and were authorities on points of law, not to mention thousands who possessed knowledge and composed verses. The existence of these women at the commencement of Islam is a convincing argument, sufficient to refute those who hold that ignorance is the best safeguard for a woman's chastity—not to mention the fact that no proof can be adduced for the supposition that knowledge leads to looseness of morals, and ignorance to strictness. For if knowledge render a woman more capable of sinning, ignorance will give her greater boldness. The mischief produced by female ignorance and its evil effects on the character of the children, both male and female, are matters that are obvious and require no exposition. Only its evil effect on the character of the husband is not quite so conspicuous, and may need some elucidation.

“Men have a natural affection for their wives, a tendency to be influenced by their moral qualities : the contrary of this is only imagined by such a man as has been cajoled by his wife into the belief that she is a poor weak thing, completely subject to his will, whereas in fact she holds the reins, and can guide him whither she chooses ; or to put it otherwise, into the belief that he is the leader and she the follower, whereas the truth perceived by all around, though unperceived by the husband himself, is that she follows him in the capacity of driver, not of driven. The astuteness of women has been most adequately gauged by the Islamic code, which prescribed the veil and the seclusion of the harem in order to restrict their power, and to confine it to the management of the house : the veil, to the extent of not displaying their ornaments to strange men, and not meeting them in private or unnecessarily ; and confinement to the house, except for pressing needs—there being no doubt that what is outside these limits opens the door to licentiousness. And these restrictions are enjoined out of consideration for the husbands, and

with a view to the proper allocation of the duties of life. The Chinese, whose civilisation is the oldest, instituted the forcible compression of girls' feet so as to render it difficult for them to move about, and endanger their honour—which with the Orientals is the primary consideration, whereas Westerns are only concerned with material comforts."

There follows a paragraph on the next cause—social disparity in marriage. The code prescribed that the man should not be socially inferior to the woman, but, owing to the power possessed by the wife of assimilating her husband's character to her own, it was equally important that men should not marry women below them in station.

This speaker's view of the question is of some interest, notwithstanding the wildness of his assertion that family honour is more prized in the East than in the West. He wants the women better educated, and he wants the veil, etc., retained. On the important question of polygamy he does not express himself, but his doctrine that the wife assimilates her husband's character to her own implies that there is only one wife: for if there were several with different characters, the result on the husband's character would be a difficult mechanical problem, and the various forces might even leave it stationary. The result of the education of women with the retention of the veil is portrayed in Pierre Loti's "*Les Désenchantées*"—and it is suicide. However, modern literature on the liberation of Moslem women deserves a separate article.

The programme, as stated by the Chairman, was somewhat miscellaneous, and in consequence, several of the speakers devoted their time to the discussion of issues outside the main question. The English member of the Society, who was put on a committee which was to draw up rules for a permanent association, besides offering a solution of the chief problem, asked questions of a very elementary kind about Islam, such as: What is the Book, and what is the Sunnah?—to which even the youngest proselyte to Islam ought to have known the answers. His zeal, however, for the spread of Islam appears to have been as great as his ignorance of its technicalities. He stated that his society in Liverpool had branches in America and South Africa, and that they had great hopes of converting



two parties especially to the "sublime religion" of Mohammed—the Protestants and the Atheists (Zindiks). The Protestants (he asserted) are only recently converted from Catholicism, and their numbers in Europe and America are more than a hundred millions: they are naturally religious, by no means obstinately attached to their beliefs, and quite ready to inquire and yield to the truth, if it be demonstrated rationally, especially if the truth be in accordance with the reasons which made them quit the Catholic Church. A small section of the Jews, called the Karaites, resemble these Protestants in their tenets.

The Atheists in Europe and America exceed a hundred millions in number, and most of them are disposed to accept a rational, free, and liberal religion, which should deliver them from the trouble of Unbelief in this world, not to mention the pains of the next.

A hundred million Protestants, recently converted from Catholicism, and a hundred million Atheists, anxious to believe something, certainly offer a tempting harvest to the scythe of the Missionaries of Islam. The reason suggested by this gentleman for the decay of Mohammedanism savoured more of England than these statements. It was, according to him, the absence of opportunities for debate and the formation of public opinion. Individualism had in consequence spread to such an extent among Moslems that even the destruction of the Ka'bah (which God forefend!) would not occasion more than momentary annoyance.

The Chinese representative, who was not satisfied with this account, suggested one that came fairly near it. Islamic history, he held, showed that prosperity always varied directly with the extent to which the sovereign relied on other people's advice: the cause therefore for the present state of Islam was absolutism on the part of the sovereigns. The jurists, whose business it was to keep the sovereigns to their duties, had become their tools and satellites, and the best form of Jihâd in these days was to discredit such jurists with the people.

The attack on the jurists was followed by another on the Sufis from the gentleman who represented Sindh. He held that the founders of the legal systems had made Islam difficult by their attention to the letter and by

formulating numerous minute regulations which it was not in the power of ordinary men to understand or carry out, whence many a Moslem had been compelled to have recourse to the mystics, who with very little trouble professed to procure him salvation. The subtleties of the jurists had therefore opened the door to charlatans. The speaker was himself a Nakshabandi, and promised to do something to enlighten other members of his order.

The last meeting was spent in reading out a series of rules drawn up for a society to be called the Society of the Mother of the Villages. The Preamble states that Islam is in a state of debility, which requires immediate attention ; and that the chief source of the evil is ignorance about religion. The remedy is enlightenment by instruction, and stirring up in the minds of the younger generation a desire for progress. These ends are to be compassed by the establishment of societies ready to give such instruction. Section 9 of the Preamble contains the surprising statement that the Arabs more than other races possess the capacity for putting an end to the debility of Islam.

The rules of the Society contemplated a rather vast movement, but whether anything came of it the present writer does not know. There were in the first place to be a hundred members, ten active, ten consultative, and eighty honorary. The first of these were required to attend meetings four hours a day except Fridays and feast-days. Their chief office was eventually to be at Meccah, but at first at Port Said, with branches at the great Islamic centres, especially in India. The expenses, of which the chief was the payment of 60*l.* annually to each of the ten active members, were to be defrayed partly by voluntary contributions, but chiefly by the sale of Korans and other publications of the Society, which were to consist in a monthly magazine, and manuals compiled in various languages for the use of students of different classes.

An appendix to the Minutes contains proposals of a more definitely political sort, including the establishment of a Korashite Caliphate at Meccah, of an ecclesiastical character, maintained by an army drawn from all Islamic States—with other suggestions which belong to Dreamland.

The discussions of these debaters, however interesting,

appear to have been rendered of little practical value by their failure to define accurately the essence of progress, and to study the history of Islam by the light so obtained. Has Islam any Golden Age to look back on, except in the sense that at one time Mohammedan Sultans were a terror to their neighbours, whereas now their neighbours are safe from their raids? There is no real abuse current in Mohammedan States from which they have ever been free, except by accident for a limited time; on the other hand, reforms, whether forced upon the people from outside or not, have been introduced—it is sufficient to point to the abolition of slavery, at least over the greater area of Islam. The days of the Pious Caliphs, could they be reproduced, would mean no progress even in the most backward of Islamic countries. The strengthening of Islam, if it is not to be a calamity to the whole world, is not to be effected by the reproduction of a barbarous past, but by an attempt to utilise the vast force which Islam represents, as a factor in real progress, the civilising and ennobling of the race. And whether this can be done, or the whole of this huge capital must be “written off,” is the question which reformers have to solve.<sup>1</sup>

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

<sup>1</sup> In the thoughtful and well-reasoned pamphlet just published by the Sayyid al-Bakri, called *The Future for Islam*, there is a scheme for a society on similar lines to that contemplated by the debaters at Meccah. Perhaps we may conclude that the latter scheme came to nought.

## THE LAYMEN'S MISSIONARY MOVEMENT IN THE U.S.A.

IN the autumn of 1906 a series of meetings were held in Williamstown, Mass. to commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of the "Haystack prayer meeting" at which in 1806 five college students dedicated their lives to foreign Missions. In November 1906, immediately following the celebration above referred to, there was held in New York a prayer meeting at which about sixty laymen were present representing various denominations. In the invitation to this meeting it was stated that "the need of the hour was the consecration of laymen to the work of missions." After several hours of earnest prayer and conference the following preamble and resolutions were adopted and a committee appointed :

WHEREAS, in the marvellous providence of God, the one hundredth anniversary of the beginnings of the American foreign missionary movement finds the doors of every nation open to the Gospel message ; and

WHEREAS, the machinery of the missionary boards, women's boards, student and young people's missionary movements is highly and efficiently organized ; and

WHEREAS, the greatly increased participation of responsible Christian business and professional men is essential to the widest and most productive use of the existing missionary agencies, as it is vital to the growth of the spiritual life at home ; and

WHEREAS, in the management of large business and political responsibilities, such men have been greatly used and honoured ; and

WHEREAS, in but few of the denominations have aggressive movements to interest men in missions been undertaken ;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that this gathering of laymen, called together for prayer and conference on the occasion of the centennial anniversary of the Haystack prayer meeting, designate a committee of twenty-five or more representative laymen, to consult with the secretaries of the Missionary Boards of all the denominations in the United States and Canada, if possible at their annual gathering in January, with reference to the following vitally important propositions :

1. To project a campaign of missionary education among laymen to be conducted under the direction of the various boards.

2. To devise a comprehensive plan (in conjunction with said board secretaries) looking toward the evangelization of the world in this generation.

3. To endeavour to form, through the various boards, a centennial Commission of laymen, fifty or more in number, to visit as early as possible the mission-fields and report their findings to the Church at home.

All the foreign missionary Boards of North America have endorsed and approved the purposes of the movement, and are co-operating in furthering its work.

The membership is confined exclusively to laymen, to avoid ecclesiastical complications and to awaken laymen to their responsibility. It was thought that clergymen and secretaries of missionary Boards had long borne the burden of labour and responsibility, and that it was high time for the average layman to do his part.

The expenses incident to such a movement are provided by a small group of men without any call upon the Treasury of the Boards.

One of the methods used to arouse the interest of laymen was a series of interdenominational (not undenominational) dinners at which well known speakers presented the purposes of the movement and urged co-operation. Such dinners have been given in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Chicago and Toronto. In addition several of the denominations have held gatherings exclusively for laymen of their respective churches.

In order that first-hand and independent information might be secured as to the Mission-fields it was proposed

to ask a "Commission of laymen" (at their own expense) to visit and make a critical examination of the fields and to report fully their findings. We believe that such an examination and report by representative Christian laymen will be of great value in getting the situation before the men at home.

A number of laymen have been appointed on this Commission, and some have already started on their journeys, while more are going in the autumn, and their report is expected to be made early in the year 1908.

In response to a cordial invitation, a delegation from Canada and the United States representing this movement recently visited Great Britain, and meetings were held in London, Bristol, Sheffield, Liverpool and Edinburgh. The response to the appeal for co-operation was most hearty, and a close relation will be maintained between the movement in the Old World and in the New.

From the foregoing brief recital of the history of this movement it will be noted :

- 1st. That it began in prayer.
- 2nd. That it is confined to laymen.
- 3rd. That it does not collect or administer missionary funds, but co-operates with the regularly established missionary agencies.
- 4th. That the Report of the Commission of laymen after visiting and studying the Mission-fields will, we hope, form a basis for an earnest appeal to the men of the Churches to generously support the missionary Boards.
- 5th. That its aim is to help the Churches to reach the whole world in this generation with the Gospel of Christ.

The following, abridged from *The Missionary Review of the World*, illustrates the way in which "The Movement" is working :

"As remarkable as the laymen's movement itself is the example of how it is capable of being practically applied, given by the Presbyterian Church (North) of America, at a special Convention, held in Omaha, the metropolis of Nebraska, in February last. It was for men only.

"The laymen's movement, while seeking to unite all Churches in a combined effort, contemplates also the individual action of different Churches or denominations. It is a wise policy. The

individual denomination has a life of its own, and it has had a history of its own, and in that history and life, with all its associations, past and present, there is a power which is of the utmost value in Christian work. This has been recognized: and that power has full play in this movement. It was under this regulation that the Presbyterian Church of America met to consider 'the distinct missionary responsibility of the Presbyterian Church for the evangelization of the heathen world.'

"There were present 1,055 delegates, representing fifteen central synods, comprising 100 Presbyteries, with a large number of special representatives from many points all the way from New York to San Francisco. 'No such convention for the consideration of foreign Missions ever before assembled in the history of any Church.' It lasted three days and two nights. It was addressed by the most prominent ministers of the Church at home, and missionaries from abroad.

"How the situation was regarded may be best seen from a paragraph in the address of Robert E. Speer, secretary of the Presbyterian Board of foreign Missions: 'Our Church is responsible for 100,000,000 people for whom Christ died, and whom God loves. Each of our 1,000,000 Church members is responsible for 100 souls, and must give an account of them on the Day of Judgment. We need a force of 2,000 men and 2,000 women—3,100 more than we now have. We need an income of 1,200,000/.—five times as much as we now have. We need annually 1% from each member at home.' He closed his address with these words: 'Gentlemen, here is this movement with some of the strongest men we have in the East behind it; and strong men all over the land allying themselves with it, a movement that contemplates—

"'First. A great campaign of missionary education.

"'Second. Joining with other Churches in sending a commission of 100 men to go out and personally examine the Mission-field, and come back and report to the Church on its present duty.

"'Third. A great effort to co-operate with all the organized missionary societies to evangelize the world in this generation.'

"One speaker said, 'Get a sense of proportion. Look at the circles of responsibility—the local field, the city, the home field, the foreign field. The field abroad is twenty-five times as great as the field at home. While at home we have 7,750 ministers, abroad we have one minister to 227,000. At that rate we would have only fourteen ministers in the whole United States. Last year we spent 2,800,000/. in local Church work, and 900,000/. on home mission work—together 3,700,000/. We gave one eighteenth as much for the foreign field, which is twenty-four times as large. Distribute responsibility.'

"A committee was appointed at an early stage, to consider the whole question and report ; and on the last day the Convention became a committee of the whole, to consider the recommendations of this committee.

"Perhaps no set of missionary recommendations so significant as these was ever adopted by any Presbyterian body. They were not rushed through mechanically, but they were thoroughly, earnestly, prayerfully and conscientiously considered ; each man who voted for them—and there were no dissenting votes—fully realized that he was not voting upon somebody else a responsibility which he himself would not have to share, but that he was personally and solemnly bound before Almighty God to do his own proportionate part toward carrying them out. The vote partook of the nature of a vow on the part of those in the Convention to do what they ought to do to make the resolutions effective. It was a rare and solemn scene when the resolutions were passed.

"The Convention expressed its conviction that it will be necessary, in order to raise the funds required for the discharge of our missionary obligations, for every Church to adopt a missionary policy embodying the following principles and methods :

"OUR MISSIONARY POLICY.

"(a) It is the mission of the whole Church to give the Gospel to the whole world.

"(b) This entire Church being a missionary society, each member of the body is under covenant to help to fulfil the will of the Head—to give the Gospel to every creature.

"(c) Every Christian is commanded to 'go,' if not in person, then potentially, having a share by gift and prayer in supporting a parish abroad, as well as the parish at home.

"(d) Our giving should be an act of worship (Proverbs iii. 9), cheerful (2 Corinthians ix. 7), and according to the rule of three (1 Corinthians xvi. 2). Individually, systematically, and proportionately. 'Let every one of you lay by him in store on the first day of the week as God hath prospered him.'

ALFRED E. MARLING.



## PARSEEISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

AMONG all the fields of Christian missionary enterprise we can hardly find one which has yielded so little as that which forms the subject of the present paper. We read in histories of missions how two Parsee converts were made in the year 1839. But they have had exceedingly few successors. The very knowledge that Christian propagandists were aiming by educational work to win an entrance for their religion set the Parsees on their guard. The concentration of Western learning on the problems of Zend and Pahlavi, on the religious and social antiquities of Iran, has awakened a corresponding activity among the Parsees themselves. Old errors have been eliminated and weak points corrected. And to-day we find that the "Anglo-Saxons of the East," the most enterprising, enlightened, and charitable community in India, present a practically impregnable defence against the few attempts that are made to bring to them the blessings of the Gospel. Such attempts are purely incidental, for no organized mission, Protestant or Roman Catholic, is in existence, nor does it seem as if it would be advisable to establish one. The utmost that seems possible is the cultivation of friendly personal relations with the Parsees, in the hope that they will come to understand better the essence of the faith, and be drawn towards it by its own inherent power.

The maxim which teaches that "the good is the enemy of the best" may be confidently cited as the sufficient cause for all this failure. The sympathetic student of Zoroastrianism, as he investigates its history, its sacred books, and the character of its present exponents, finds at every turn much to admire, and exceedingly little to condemn. He realises that he is studying a religion which never—with one strange and partial exception, as we shall see presently—inculcated what was morally wrong, which

stood for the unity and holiness of God in a world of debasing polytheism, and taught the immortality of man, and reward and punishment on ethical principles in a future life, long before such doctrines emerged among the people of Israel. A tiny community, probably less than a hundred thousand, the Parsees have preserved their nationality and their faith for a dozen centuries in the country which gave them shelter from the deadly dilemma offered them in their own land by the fanaticism of Islam. Most of those who stayed in Persia preferred the Koran to the sword. The Parsees of modern India are the sons of those who refused the former and escaped the latter at the cost of a permanent exile. They have every right to be proud of their heritage; and if a people influential out of all proportion to their numbers, progressive and enlightened beyond all other races in India, and devoted to a religion singularly pure and lofty, refuse to consider the higher claims of what seems to them an alien faith, we can hardly regard it as strange.

The origins of Zoroastrianism are buried in the mists of prehistoric antiquity. To discuss their problems here would be impossible; but there is one important caution that needs to be given before students attempt to explore for themselves. The Avesta is accessible in English, translated by scholars of the highest eminence for Max Müller's magnificent series, "Sacred Books of the East" (vols. iv., xxiii., and xxxi.). The first two of these were executed by one of the greatest Orientalists who ever lived, James Darmesteter. He crowded into his brief life of little over forty years a mass of brilliant pioneer labour in many fields, unequalled in quality, and amazing in quantity for a man whose life was a constant struggle with physical weakness. A year or two before he died he propounded what Iranian scholars without exception pronounce to be an impossible paradox concerning the history of the Avesta. It was stated fully in his monumental French translation, and repeated in the Introduction to the first volume of the "S.B.E." Avesta in its second edition.<sup>1</sup> Within a few months the great scholar died,

<sup>1</sup> He put the Gâthâs (see below) in the first century A.D., and traced their most characteristic doctrines to the influence of Philo of Alexandria.

and we are at liberty to believe that a few years of further study would have caused him to abandon the too hasty conjecture with which he marred the last and greatest work of his life. It is necessary, therefore, to warn the non-specialist student that in this one matter it is not safe to follow the scholar who in all other points is our weightiest authority. According to the prevailing opinion, the oldest part of the Avesta dates back at least to the seventh century B.C. The traditional date for the life of the prophet Zarathushtra (Zoroaster, as the Greeks called him) is from 660 B.C. to 583 B.C. Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, of New York, in his authoritative monograph<sup>1</sup> on the great reformer's life, gives weighty reasons for accepting the tradition; and the same view is taken by the late Dr. E. W. West, and by Bishop Casartelli, the highest authorities this country has produced. The only question is whether we ought not to substitute a still earlier era. Another vital point on which opinion has decisively turned against Darmesteter is the historical reality of Zarathushtra's personality. Myths in plenty have gathered round his name, but the strikingly human portrait which comes out of the Gâthâs or Hymns—largely, we may believe, his own composition—can safely be accepted as genuine. It provides us, however, with but little biography. There is evidence of success in preaching in the names of certain disciples, especially Vishtâspa, the Constantine of the new faith; and there is also a plaintive lament from a period of failure and persecution. There seems reason to believe that Zarathushtra began his work in Media, but failed there, and wandered east into Bactria, where he won his royal patron, and began a success which lasted till his death in advanced years.

And what was the nature of Zarathushtra's reform? We may probably assume that the religion he found in possession was very much like that which Herodotus described as it prevailed among the Persians, a little before the era when the Zoroastrian reformed faith slowly percolated into Media from the east. It was nature-worship, but of a relatively pure kind. The supreme Indo-Ger-

<sup>1</sup> *Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran*. (Columbia University Press, 1899.)

manic deity, the Sky Father, whose name meets us in India, Greece, and Rome, and survives in our own *Tuesday*, was worshipped without priesthood or temples on mountain-tops ; while sun and moon, wind and water and fire were all revered. In particular Mithra, the god of the upper air, mediator between heaven and earth, held a primacy in the popular religion which in later days was to pass from Asia to Europe and confront Christianity with the only rival faith that ever seriously contested the allegiance of the West. Zarathushtra's mind seems to have been extraordinarily abstract for the time at which he appeared. In verse, the philosophic obscurity of which curiously contrasts with its extremely primitive language,<sup>1</sup> he preaches his fervent monotheism, his strong and healthy doctrine of truthfulness and honest toil, his promise of eternal bliss with God in the "House of Song," for those who have practised "good thoughts, good words, good deeds," in this life. He does not name the old-nature gods whom he strove to dethrone. His methods strikingly remind us of St. Paul's in his dealing with the Colossian heresy—no counter-theorising about the angels whose worship he would abolish, but a new and forceful assertion of the infinite transcendence of the Son of God, whose universal lordship made the very existence of other spiritual beings almost a matter of indifference from the practical point of view. We recognise in this procedure of the first and greatest of Christian missionaries a most important lesson for our own missionary policy at home and abroad to-day. Error is to be destroyed by constructive methods far more than by polemic. Set Christ, in theory and in practice, where He ought to stand, and all limited, false or pernicious doctrine will fall into its proper place. Now St. Paul admittedly succeeded in his object of destroying a virtual polytheism under guise of angelolatry. Zarathushtra has clearly failed, and we must study the lessons of his failure. No real flaw can be pointed out in the thorough-going character of his monotheism. He may have found in partial or general use the title Ahura

<sup>1</sup> The peculiarly close relation of the Gâthic Zend to Vedic Sanskrit is one of the main arguments for the early date of the Hymns. It seems almost impossible to put more than a short interval between dialects so closely akin.

Mazdâh (Ormazd), "Wise Lord," which excludes all others in his system as the name of Deity ; though personally I think it more probable that this was at most an occasional epithet of Dyaus, the Sky.<sup>1</sup> In any case, I think we can recognise the prophet's own mind in the other new names of the system. In place of the old nature-powers we find six archangels around the Throne. They are mostly mere personified attributes of God. One of them, indeed, Spenta Armaiti ("Holy Devotion"), is allowed to retain traces of the physical connexion she had long possessed as genius of the earth ; while others seem to keep a similar patronage which may have belonged to deities whom they dispossessed. Zarathushtra presumably selected a few genii of the old faith, whose character was abstract enough for his purpose, exalted them into archangels reflecting various attributes of God, and allowed to remain as innocuous their old connexion with metals, fire, water, plants, etc. The names of the six Amshaspands (Amesha Spenta, "immortal holy ones") are enough to show that they tempted no idolatry and did not compromise a rigid monotheism. Good Mind, Best Righteousness, Desired Sovranty, Holy Devotion, Health, and Immortality are too impersonal and abstract to encourage any diversion of allegiance from Him with whom in the Gâthâs they are perpetually associated in the closest way. We may safely attribute to the same profound mind the conceptions of evil powers which are posited to explain the existence of pain and wrong. Angra Mainyu (Ahriman, "hurtful spirit") and Aeshma Daeva (Asmodaeus of "Tobit," "wrath demon") have the characteristic mark of abstractness, which suggests Zarathushtra's own mintage. It is quite unfair, by the way, to call Zarathushtra's system dualistic. He traced all physical and moral evil to a spirit who in the beginning chose evil in thought, word, and deed. Life is to be a ceaseless strife with the Evil One and all his creation. And at the last shall come Saoshyant ("He who

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Herodotus, i. 131, τὸν κύκλον πάντα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Δία καλέοντες. I must remind the reader that my differentiation between pre-Zoroastrian elements, Zoroastrian, and post-Zoroastrian is theory and not dogma ; I cannot argue my case here.

shall save" <sup>1</sup>), a miraculously born son of Zarathushtra. He will let loose from heaven the flood of molten metal which will purify creation, and destroy—or possibly transform into powers of good—Ahriman and all his creatures, so that

Hell itself will pass away,  
And leave her dolorous mansions to the peering day.

A system in which Good is eventually to win a complete and everlasting triumph is no more "dualistic" than the New Testament itself.

Now mark the sequel. In the archaic dialect in which the Gâthâs are composed we possess a prose liturgy called the "Gâthâ of seven chapters." Its language shows that it cannot have been composed long after the metrical Hymns, and its birthplace must likewise be near theirs: the alternative hypothesis of an artificial sacred dialect does not seem probable, as we should have to postulate yet another considerable gap of time or place (or both) before coming to the later Avesta. Now in this prose Gâthâ the old nature-worship is back again, and back to stay. The Yashts, which form a whole division of the later Avesta, written in a different metre and a markedly distinct dialect, consist entirely of hymns to the old nature-powers. They were regularised in orthodox Parseeism by being treated as subordinate spirits, answering to our angels; but in the Yashts the worship paid to them is not to be distinguished from that which is given to the Supreme Being. Zarathushtra had striven to raise men above their inherited thoughts of God; but reversion to type set in, as it always does as soon as the force of a great religious reform is spent. The contrast between Parseeism and Hinduism, which sprang from the same ancestor, is the measure of his success. But it is abundantly true of this great religion, as of every other that owes its essential features to an individual religious genius, that the motto "Back to

<sup>1</sup> For this eschatology the hints in the Gâthâs are too scanty to depend on: we draw from the later Avesta. It may be necessary to observe that a recent attempt in the *Hibbert Journal* to connect the Babylonian *Shamash*, *Shawash*, the sun, breaks down on an elementary fact of Zend grammar: the *sh* is part of the suffix of the future tense.

the Founder" expresses the utmost advance of which the religion is capable. The secret of Zarathushtra's failure to make permanent his great ideas lies in the impossibility of teaching ordinary men to worship an abstraction. The ordinary Israelite under the Monarchy was perpetually "exchanging Jahweh for another god" who came within the range of his senses. And the God of the Old Testament is incomparably more personal, more knowable, more lovable than the rather negative All-Wise and All-Holy whom Zarathushtra adored. Whether conceived as the Absolute and Unconditioned of the metaphysician, the Infinite Intelligence and Supreme Artificer of the Parsee, or even the Fatherly Providence of the Jew, He remained to the masses of men an Unknown God till "God Only-begotten, who is in the bosom of the Father . . . declared Him" by coming in our flesh to be a Man with men.

The simple grandeur of Zarathushtra's creed was destined to be adulterated with yet another kind of alien element before the development of Parseeism was complete. Herodotus tells us the names of the six tribes or castes into which the population of Media was divided. Since one of these is expressly designated as Aryan, it seems to follow that the other five had no part in the sturdy Northern race which had swept into Asia and Southern Europe, making easy conquests of the aboriginal populations which in a few generations absorbed them. Among these five tribes the historian names the Magi. He tells, as does Darius in his great inscription at Behistun, how a Magian usurper seized the throne after the death of Cambyses. It was a religious as well as a racial revolution. When Darius and his Persians came to their own again, the political hopes of this powerful native tribe were finally destroyed. But they had another road to power open to them. Various indications point to their having been a sacred caste, like the Brahmans in India. The Bible, if I read the evidence rightly, gives us two glimpses of their religion before its fusion with Zoroastrianism. The Rab-Mag of Jer. xxxix. 3, 13 is best taken as an Archimagus of this early period. And the curious heathen rite described in Ezek. viii. 17, identical as it is with one still practised by Parsee priests,

is explained immediately when we attribute it to the Magi as independent of the system into which they subsequently imparted this and many other ritual observances of their own. It is very easy to believe that the people of Media, when court influence, in or after the time of Darius, brought the Zoroastrian religion more and more into vogue, gladly admitted the old sacred caste, their own kith and kin, to perform the priestly duties attaching to the new faith. And that being so, the Magi were sure to introduce as much as possible of their old ritual into a religion which had remarkably little ritual of its own. Hence, I venture to believe, the Vendidad—the dull and sometimes repulsive ritual code which even the Parsees themselves often interpret so freely as to suggest that it is a yoke which neither they nor their fathers have been wholly able to bear. In some important respects the Magi failed to impress their beliefs upon the system. Their practice of magic was so conspicuous that the Greeks actually named occult arts from them, as we do still; but magic and sorcery are sternly banned by Parseeism. Astrology and divination by dreams—both of them prominent in the narrative of Matt. ii.—were special pursuits of the Magi, but they found no place in the Avesta, nor even in the later official literature of the Parsees. Greek and Latin writers constantly select two strange practices as characteristic of the Magi—the exposure of the bodies of the dead to vultures, and the supreme religious merit of the marriage of the closest kin. The former became one of the most conspicuous features of Zoroastrianism, as the “Towers of Silence” at Bombay witness still. The latter is almost certainly absent from the Avesta, and it has never been practised by the Parsees, despite the exaggerated enthusiasm with which it is preached in their later literature.

We come now to the most important subject of our study. Not only in the relatively unimportant field of angelology and demonology, but also in the momentous question of a future life, we find a great change passing over Judaism just after the era in which the Jews had been in close contact with the Persians, and had, moreover, owed to them the restoration of their nationality and their



ancestral home. *Post hoc propter hoc* was the very natural conclusion of many scholars who realised how near the Pharisee stood to the Parsee. Put in that crude way, the theory is as obvious, and as untenable, as the notion that the Pharisees owed their name to their supposed Persian leanings. But indirect borrowing between religions is as common as open transference of ideas and beliefs is rare. Devout and earnest Jews who knew that Persian religion taught immortality, with rewards and punishments on an ethical basis, were driven to thought and prayer by the utter blankness of their own outlook. The Providence which kept this living hope from the Jews till the very eve of the Great Revelation explains itself readily to the modern point of view. The actual religious value of a great idea depends less on the idea itself than on the manner of its attainment. Zarathushtra preached an exalted doctrine of a future life centuries before it entered the minds of Jews. The idea was not new even then. The ancient nature-worship of the Aryans proper, before they divided into the Indian and Persian branches, included a belief in immortality which was presumably based upon the analogy of nature, as when we find in the Rigveda the beautiful saying that the Dawn is *amrtasya ketúh*, "the banner of immortality." To this Zarathushtra himself may have added the conception of a Theodicy, which has led so many earnest souls to cling to the hope of a triumph of right beyond the grave. But no one can read the Psalms thoughtfully without realising that the Jews found a yet more excellent way to the Truth. National hopes faded more and more; but the men who found that they served their God for naught, as far as material reward went, realised an infinitely greater reward in the deepening sense of the presence of Jehovah, and the unspeakable peace and comfort enjoyed in communion with Him. It was inevitable that men so trained should make the great venture: "He calls Himself *my* God. He is eternal, I must die. But how *can* He suffer the man of His love to be abandoned to corruption, to a world in which there is no remembrance of Him? Because He lives, I must live also." In other words, the pious Jew came to the "hope full of immortality" by the road which our Lord pointed

out to the Sadducees. But that does not prevent the action of a providential παραζήλωσις, a challenge to faith by the known existence of so comforting a doctrine elsewhere.

Space forbids our dwelling on the Zoroastrian doctrine of the future, which would demand some pages to itself. For some of its most beautiful features I might be allowed to refer to a free adaptation from the Avesta entitled "A Zoroastrian Idyll," in the *Expository Times* for September 1907.<sup>1</sup> In all the range of non-Christian religions there could hardly be found a more exquisite conception than that of the fair angel who is borne on the wings of a fragrant south wind to meet the good man's soul, thus answering his astonished inquiry :—

"I am Thyself,  
Thy thoughts, thy words, thy actions, glorified  
By every conquest over base desire,  
By every offering of a holy prayer  
To the Wise Lord in Heaven, every deed  
Of kindly help done to the good and pure ;  
By these I come thus lovely, come to guide  
Thy steps to that dread Bridge where waits for thee  
The Prophet charged with judgment."

We shall, I think, be easily persuaded that a faith which included such gems of truth was worthiest to represent the Gentile world in the first deed of homage done to the infant Son of Man.

And we shall likewise agree, I trust, that the Christian world owes to the present day holders of this noble and ancient faith a very special debt of interest and sympathy. They have throughout the history of Christian Missions in India shown an almost unbroken front against those who have tried to win them. It is not strange that the difficulty of the task and the immeasurably greater numbers and greater need of the masses who have nothing better than Hinduism to rest on, should have discouraged the organising of special work among the Parsees. The greater need of the Hindu needs no proof. But does not Christ need the

<sup>1</sup> I should perhaps also refer, for some important questions which have had to be passed over here, to the article "Zoroastrianism," in Hastings's *Bible Dictionary*, vol. iv.

Parsee? How invaluable for the Christian India of the future must this little community be, so honest and truth-loving, so free from the accumulated burdens which ages of superstition and the manifold horrors of the caste system have imposed on the Hindu? For the Parsee, Jesus Christ comes not to destroy but to fulfil, to be a Saoshyant beyond anything that Zarathushtra dreamed. Nor will it be before He comes to complete and crown the broken arch of truth, reared by the seekers after God in many lands, that humanity at last will be perfected and the new day dawn for the world. Christianity itself can never be perfect while it remains only the Western view of the universal Christ. Through Eastern windows that light must pour in, if the great world temple is to be made ready for the high festival of the Kingdom Come; and then we shall see with amazement how many hues break upon us for the first time. And among all such new lights the strongest and purest will be seen when once more the Star shines in the East, and the Wise Men of Zarathushtra's company find their Saviour and rejoice with exceeding great joy.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

## THE SITUATION IN THE EAST.

Two years ago I ventured to write an article in this Review on the effect of the Japanese victories upon India and the East. In certain directions I may claim to have made a true forecast. There has been a distinct unsettlement in Mohammedan lands and a growing restlessness under European domination ; there has been also in India itself an increasing movement towards the liberalising of Islam, without apparently any nearer approach to Christianity ; and on the Hindu side there has been a remarkable revival of reforming Hinduism, especially among the members of the Arya Samaj in the North ; lastly, there has been a still more remarkable development of nationalism, of which I stated the opinion that, "it is still a tender plant, but when it is grown it may cover the land." I remember being told by those of longer experience that I was laying too much stress upon the growth of nationalism, and that any such plant could never take root in India and the East. Yet now on looking back over the past two years events have proved that I laid, not too much, but too little stress upon this last point, and that the one dominant factor, resulting from the Japanese war, has been the growth of the spirit of nationality and the desire among the enlightened in all Eastern lands for national progress. This spirit has literally passed from one end of Asia to the other, and is strong in Egypt. While taking colour from the religion of each country it is primarily a political and racial movement, though at the same time I believe it to be full of religious import. There is a striking similarity in the forms of the new thought and the new literature that is being produced. I have seen newspaper extracts from Teheran, Cairo and Peking, and the subjects discussed are almost identical with the leading articles of the

"Bengalee" or the "Hindu." They may be roughly summarised as a desire for Western institutions and scientific training, national aspiration, and a race longing for freedom from European control. Sometimes race feeling predominates, sometimes the passion for Western culture, sometimes the simple desire for national progress.<sup>1</sup>

The breaking up of old systems of thought and government has begun in every part of Asia. An Indian friend has told me only to-day that he has just finished reading twelve different Persian newspapers and reviews, and the chief subjects of discussion in each were "Parliamentary Government," "Persia for the Persians," "National Progress," and such like. The visit of the Amir of Afghanistan to India has been followed by the inauguration in Kabul of a system of elementary and advanced education on Western lines. In Peking a Parliamentary constitution has been promised, scientific and technical institutions have been erected, nearly 20,000 students have gone to Japan for training, and Western education has already taken the place of the old classics in the Civil Service examinations. India has developed the Swadeshi movement; from one Bengal society alone 100 students were sent abroad this year for technical instruction; in every college and in every newspaper "nationalism" is the one subject of interest and discussion; in many parts a racial antipathy against the foreigner has grown up, which has called for the sternest measures of repression. The growth of nationalism in Egypt formed the principal theme of Lord Cromer's farewell address in Cairo. These events, and instances might be multiplied, are no passing phase. They are the beginnings of a movement which will extend in mightier and mightier circles among the myriads of the unlettered peoples. To take India as an example, the village peasants in the North to-day are discussing political questions which were only known to the educated two years ago. What has been told in the ear is being proclaimed upon the housetop. It may

<sup>1</sup> From one point of view the Renaissance in Europe is the nearest parallel to what is now taking place in Asia: for, as Bishop Creighton has pointed out, along with the breaking up of old systems and the intellectual impulse of that age, there came an awakening of the nations to self-consciousness and the formation of Modern Europe on national lines.

be that there will be reactions and eddyings in the current; but the great tide which has started from Japan will sweep away all temporary barriers, and we shall witness in our own generation the awakening of half the population of the world.

The breaking up then of the East has begun, the awakening is already in progress. With very much of this Renaissance—with the longing for freedom and enlightenment, the desire for a true and healthy national existence, the wish to elevate the countless myriads of the common people—no thoughtful Christian can fail to sympathise. The progress of the East may check his sense of race superiority, and bring most difficult questions as to government and control, but as a Christian first, and an Englishman afterwards, he cannot but rejoice. For in all that is happening, he can recognise the transplanting of Christian thought in Eastern soil. Nationality, liberty, enlightenment, the raising of the multitudes, these are seeds which have hitherto only struck deep and permanent root in Christendom. They have come to-day to the East from the Christian West. They have touched the *anima naturaliter Christiana* in India, China and Japan, and have begun to fertilise. The process of thought can be seen in such writers as Keshub Chander Sen in India, and Dr. Nitobe in Japan, but in the practical field the witness is still more apparent. The red cross on the hospital vans of the Japanese armies in Manchuria was itself a striking testimony. It is possible, of course, to take a superficial view and call these national movements purely secular; yet I cannot see how this can be done by anyone who holds intelligently the faith of the Incarnation, and who believes that Jesus is the Son of Man. Movements of spirit which are taking place in an area including 800,000,000 of the human race cannot be without religious significance to the believer in Him, who is "the Light that lighteneth every man, coming into the world." It is indeed possible to let the Christian element in the new movements go by default through indifference and neglect, through failing to "discern the signs of the times" and "buy up the opportunity"; it is sadly possible for Christian nations to act in un-Christian ways and propagate race-hatred; it is only

too possible for the non-Christian nations to return that hatred a hundred fold. In this way the progress of humanity may be set back, and a new crop of evils may take the place of the old ; but, on the other hand, if the Christian nations are faithful to high principles, and the Christian messengers make clear their message, bringing forth out of their treasures things new as well as things old, then it may come to pass that, amid the shaking of the nations of the East, we shall see the Son of Man coming in His glory, and shall welcome one of those "days of the Son of Man" for which the whole creation waits.

On the Church itself in the East the new movement is already beginning to leave its mark. All that one hears of China and Japan shows that Christianity is at last becoming acclimatised and indigenous. The same is taking place more slowly in India. Those who have never seen the Mission Field can scarcely understand what an exotic Christianity remains until the spirit and genius of the nation enter into it. I shall not soon forget the shock of finding the rubric concerning the "authority of the Parliament of the second year of the reign of King Edward VI." translated bodily into the Indian Prayer Book, along with the Thirty Nine Articles and Saints' Days, such as "Edward, King of the West Saxons." The shock was greater when I found many Indian Christians adopting European names and passing off as Eurasians. No Indian bishop or even archdeacon, no distinctive Indian Prayer Book, and this after a hundred years of missionary effort ! The denationalising process has run often to an extreme point, and the witness of a living and indigenous Christianity has been sorely hindered. But the national movement of the last two years is awakening in Indian Christians a sense of responsibility to their nation. A purely Indian missionary society is beginning to send out its own missionaries. Church government is coming more into the hands of Indians themselves. In every congregation there are signs of the stirring of new life and a desire to throw off as far as possible dependence upon foreign aid and control. In our own college at Delhi an Indian Christian has been appointed permanent principal with English professors under him. The time cannot be far

distant when we shall see Indian bishops and an Indian Prayer Book. There are great difficulties still in our own Church on account of the State establishment, and other Christian communities are far more advanced in self-government. Yet the learner is surely working, and the new movement of national life has had a most healthy influence among Indian Christians.

Outside the Christian fold in the great Mission Field of the non-Christian world, a whole series of new problems confronts the missionary to the educated classes. How far can nationalism be welcomed without trenching upon spheres which are purely political? How far can the new aspirations be shown to have a Christian bearing and to point to a Christian conclusion? How far can the Christian missionary dissociate himself from the foreign ties of an English Government in order to be one with the people of the country? How far can Christianity itself be stripped of its foreign accretions so as to appeal to Eastern life and thought? How far can the new movement itself be boldly claimed for Christ? These and a thousand other problems have to be faced to-day by the missionary who endeavours to reach and influence the centres of thought and movement in the East. The intellectual Indians, who are strong and independent, and who by their character and originality will be the leaders of the future, are not troubling themselves about the sanctity of the Vedas or the verbal inspiration of the Quran. Traditional Hinduism and Islam have ceased to play any important part in their lives, though they may still be compelled to bow down in the House of Rimmon. Their spiritual nature is at present absorbed in the prospect of an awakening East, of an Indian nationality, of a free and enlightened people, of a deliverance from the nightmare of superstition and the tyranny of caste. They see the mountains of difficulty confronting them, and as age advances they often give up the struggle; yet each fresh generation presses forward with renewed ardour and youthful enthusiasm. Those who persevere are still a minority even among the educated; yet, compared with the learned Pandit poring over the Vedas or the subservient intellectual cringing for Government favours, they are the men in India who are alive, they are the



men, and though meeting with continual rebuffs, had persisted for two years and succeeded in gaining their friendship. His father had wished him to marry at once and settle down, and had offered him a comfortable position and the prospect of wealth, but he had refused, and was content to be banished from home and to be reduced to poverty rather than be false to the call he had received. This is an example of the new earnestness which is spreading over the land. I have met with it in every centre I have visited—in places as far distant as Delhi, Allahabad, Calcutta, and Lahore. I have had long and intimate conversations with men of these ideals—men differing in caste and creed, but imbued with the same spirit of love for their country—men longing for progress and enlightenment, and desiring to help their fellow-Indians. If such men can be won to see in Christ the Ideal of their race and the Saviour of the World, then indeed there would be a prospect widening out beyond the range of thought. To win them would be to gain the key to unlock the hearts of many millions of mankind.

If in any way I have read aright the signs of the times, and if the awakening of the East is really taking place as I have pictured, then a great and noble opportunity lies before the Church. She will not "break the bruised reed or quench the smoking flax" of the new aspirations and struggles towards the light, however crude or imperfect they may be, but will rather point out and welcome their Christian bearing. She will proclaim afresh, in the new era, the earliest gospel message, "good tidings to the poor, deliverance to the captives, recovery of sight to the blind." She will show in a living and moving way how this is really accomplished by the acceptance, national and individual, of the Christian Faith. One such living witness to the power of Christ would be the elevation of the pariah classes to a higher scale in national life. I wholly agree with the Bishop of Madras as to the importance of that witness. My contention only is that while this work ought to be done, other work ought not to be left undone. A second witness to the power of Christ is the loving work of healing the sick in Zenana and other hospitals. The visits of our lady missionaries to lighten the burden and the

ignorance of the life behind the purdah is a further object-lesson to the educated of the "liberty wherewith Christ has made us free." Once again, if it were not so denationalised, there should be the object-lesson of the Indian Church itself ; but though, as I have already pointed out, these are the beginnings of indigenous life and development, yet at present this witness is feeble and unconvincing, and often more a deterrent than an incentive. A remarkable and unexpected witness that appeals strongly to the imagination of the educated Indian at the present time is the national progress of Christianity in Japan. The welcome given by the Mikado and the great statesmen of Japan to the Christian delegates at the Tokio Conference has had a great effect upon the educated classes, and has taught them that Christianity may become a national religion in the East as well as in the West.

Thus in many ways the foreign and denationalising appearance of the Faith is being counteracted, though sadly enough the foreign atmosphere still seems to cling about the Church and neutralise our message when we least expect it. Yet prejudices are giving way before practical experience, and the very difficulties that confront Indian nationality are the Church's opportunity. When I was lecturing in Allahabad a Hindu gentleman got up and said : "I am a Brahman of the Brahmans, and belong to the most orthodox school, but I am an Indian and love my country, and I must confess that the way in which Christianity has raised the pariahs of Madras puts me to shame when I think of it and is worthy of the highest praise." I have heard one of the most ardent Indian nationalists exclaim : "After all, when it comes to practice, Christianity alone is effecting what we nationalists are striving for, viz., the elevation of the masses." I have seen in the leading reviews edited by Hindus, articles pointing out the marvellous growth and progress of the Christian community in education, physique, and general capacity, comparing this with the stagnation of Hinduism. Many will give intellectual assent to the proposition that only through the acceptance of Christianity can India become a united and progressive nation. The Brahmo Samaj, which contains some of the most cultured men and women of India, feeling its

own inherent weakness, seems at last on the point of acknowledging the superior power and inspiration of the Christian Faith. The Indian National Congress begins its sessions with what is almost word for word a Christian prayer.

But, on the other hand, the full conviction that "there is no other Name under heaven, given among men, whereby we must be saved, but only the Name of the Lord Jesus"—such a supreme conviction accepted, not merely by the intellect, but by the heart and soul, may be long in coming. It is natural that every possible compromise should first be tried. One Samaj therefore after another arises and has its day, and one system of philosophy follows another, each borrowing from Christianity in turn. What is needed on our part is one continuous and ceaseless personal witness. Each fresh position of reforming Hinduism and Islam must be met and answered, with patience and sympathy, and its inadequacy explained. To give this direct and personal witness to the educated, we need stronger Christian colleges of the very highest standard, and no second-rate ones. Educational work of all kinds must go forward with increasing vigour and determination, for in this way the present generation will be directly and personally reached. It is the present generation of students who will work out in life the new ideals which are being formed. To influence them is to influence the whole movement.

The position I have taken in this article with regard to the new movement in the East is not my own. It is the opinion of every leading Indian with whom I have come in contact. All feel alike that India is on the point of a great awakening, and every leading Indian Christian I have met holds strongly that higher educational work is the key to unlock the future. I would give one example. Professor Rudra, whose striking article "Is India Thirsting for Religious Truth?" will be remembered in the January number last year, has been engaged in educational missionary work for nearly a quarter of a century, and has watched the course of recent events with the keenest expectation and hope. He believes with me that a new movement of thought and life is coming to the birth, and

views with the utmost apprehension any withdrawal from higher education at the present moment. He is on the governing body of the Panjab University and Principal of his College, and can therefore speak with authority. "Our Christian Colleges," he writes, "need to be strengthened rather than weakened; for the work they are doing for the future of Indian Christianity is of inestimable worth. To weaken them at the present critical juncture would be to court defeat. Their work is like that of leaven, slowly but surely altering the thoughts and ideals of the country. Leaven cannot be measured statistically. There is now a mighty movement of intellect going on in India. To withdraw at such a time from the work of higher education would be suicidal. Education here, as in the West, must ultimately dominate the life of the country. I believe therefore that missionary colleges should exist in the fullness of intellectual, moral, and spiritual efficiency, so as to set before youthful India the Image of the Divine—even Christ. If this is not done the ascendancy of Christ which is dimly perceptible among the educated classes will decline and be overthrown by other influences. We need determination and faith, and the leaven will leaven the mass yet. Shall we have offers for the work?"

C. F. ANDREWS.

## THE CO-OPERATION OF THE WEST WITH THE EAST IN MISSIONARY WORK.

PROMINENT among the effects of the Russo-Japanese war has been the impetus it has given to the claim by Eastern nations for recognition as members of a world-brotherhood. The general alteration in perspective affects not only political but missionary questions.

There met in Tokyo, last April, a conference of the delegates of the World's Student Christian Federation. It was the first international congress held in Asia, and the first in which delegates from China, India and Japan outnumbered those from the West. The gift from the Marquis Ito of £1,000 to the funds of the Federation showed the measure which such a statesman took of the occasion. The conference does not stand as an isolated event, but is one amongst many other signs of the change which is taking place in the relative position of East to West in view of the evangelisation of the world.

Hitherto we have talked and acted as though the Churches now springing into life in the East were among the possessions of the Churches of the West.

This sentence stands in a prayer constantly used by the committee of one of our leading missionary societies: "We praise Thee, O Thou God of all grace, for the converts, the native catechists and the native clergy, which Thou hast granted to us in our several Missions." Can we imagine the members of the Nippon sei Kokwai (the Church of Japan) thinking of themselves as given to the committee of a foreign society in London or in New York? They might with much more reason think of such committees as allies—indispensable allies, it may be—given to the youthful Church of Japan to aid it in the evangelisation of the great masses of their non-Christian fellow-

countrymen. As long as the converts in a heathen country could be counted on the fingers of one hand, it was reasonable to think of them as fruit given to the foreign Church which sent out the first evangelists; but now that the native clergy and lay-workers outnumber the foreign missionaries many times, the time has come when it is necessary for us to revise our conceptions of the relative position of foreigners and natives, and to realise that the former must decrease in order that the latter may increase.

Such times of transition bring problems of great complexity in all missionary organisations, and not least to those in connection with the Church of England, which has but recently developed the beginnings of diocesan and provincial organisation in its diocesan conferences and houses of laymen.

A slight historical sketch of the road by which one missionary society has slowly been feeling its way to interpret the meaning of co-operation may be worth making, in order to show that a change of point of view may with unexpected suddenness make vast changes in our immediate objective.

In making choice of an instance I am naturally led to speak of what has come within my own observation. The stages, however, into which the sketch is divided are typical not only of India and of the operations of one society, but of other lands and other organizations.

Looking at the history of the C.M.S. in India I discern two policies in which co-operation has not been a dominant factor; each policy characteristic of one-half of the nineteenth century, together with a third, which may be said to date from the beginning of the twentieth century.

Many early missionaries in India were Germans, and the typical picture of the German missionary, drawn by Mr. Eugene Stock, is that of the white-haired kindly father of a village of humble Christian Indians, who looked to the missionary for everything, and were not disappointed. In Urdu phrase the missionary was *mān bāp*—father and mother—to his converts. Such a system, however necessary a stage in evolution, can only be temporary. It may be good for babes, but something more is needed for men.

In 1849 there appeared in the *Intelligencer* an article

entitled "Native Churches under European superintendence the hope of Missions." The title is sufficient to indicate the view which the author took of a missionary's work. The foreign missionary was to be, in St. Paul's phrase, a tutor and governor ; but the article did not seem to contemplate the possibility of the tutored child ever growing up.

The first half of the nineteenth century we may characterise, with all loving respect for the saintly and devoted lives of the workers it produced, as the *mān bāp* period. The second half of the century we may call that of the native Church Council system.

Under this system the foreign missionaries, whether engaged in evangelistic, medical, educational or pastoral work, do not meet as a body for counsel with the native clergy, but in a conference of their own, while the native pastors of a group of congregations, forming a district, compose, with certain elected delegates from the congregations, the native Church council, with generally a foreign missionary as chairman. It is true that Henry Venn, the Secretary of the C.M.S., who had much to do with planning native Church council schemes, was full of generous desires that Indian and African Churches should not be anglicised, and that the naturally masterful character of Englishmen should not overwhelm the Indian or African members of any joint body ; but in his eager desire for indigenous Churches "self-supporting, self-governing, and self-extending," he seems to have forgotten that native and foreign are comparative terms, and express distinctions which are not fundamental in the Church of Christ. Further, to separate the pastoral and evangelistic offices too sharply overlooks the fact that while other religions may produce propagandists, no other religion but Christianity produces pastors, and it is a mistake to imagine that converts of the first generation will necessarily be better suited for pastoral than for evangelistic work. One of the Punjab clergy, the Rev. John Ali Bakhsh, on his return to Lahore from a visit to England, expressed himself, in 1906, strongly on the need of training in pastoral work for the Indian clergy ; but the native Church Council system tends too often to a practical division of work which gives that of the evan-

gelist to the foreigner and of the pastor to the native. In all training for posts of responsibility the analogy of the difficulty of teaching a child to walk without risking a fall holds good. A child, however, is not turned out of the family in order to learn to walk, but the separation of the foreign missionaries into a conference of their own, and the confining of the native clergy to a native Church Council, implies a division in the family, which cannot but bring loss to the whole work.

Throughout the Missions of the C.M.S. in the Punjab, it was the action of successive Bishops of Lahore in gathering together a diocesan conference, consisting of all the clergy of the diocese, Indian and European, missionary and chaplain, together with lay representatives of both races, that quickened the desire for greater unity.

The Bishop's conference was consultative and not administrative, and therefore was a much easier sphere in which to make experiments; but at its close, in 1900, all felt the time had come for a revision of a method which, for the work of administration, divided many of those who had recently sat as fellow-members of the diocesan conference into a native Church Council, a missionary conference, and a committee representing the authorities in Salisbury Square.

After long deliberation a new central Mission council was formed, with the Bishop as chairman, on which all the formerly separated bodies were represented; and thus, not only for deliberation, but for practical administration, East and West were united.

Such an organisation of work involves, on the part of the foreign missionary, the renunciation of any claim to control a native Church, and, on the part of the Indian Christians connected with it, the acknowledgment that they prefer alliance to separation, provided that it is an alliance on a basis which knows no race disabilities.

Sir Francis Younghusband, of Thibetan fame, in his Rede lecture at Cambridge, claimed that comradeship should be the characteristic of our Imperial rule in India; and there can be no full comradeship when Indian and English clergy engaged in a common task do not meet in a common council. We foreign missionaries do not want



to tell the Indian pastors of Christian congregations: "Take your affairs to your own council-room, for they do not concern us," and then sit down by ourselves to plan hospitals and schools as evangelistic agencies, without any attempt to consult or be guided by Indian sentiment. We foreigners who are lent as honorary workers to the Indian Church cannot be so churlish as to say that because we are honorary workers we will work where and how we choose, without consulting the wishes of our Indian brethren, who are as capable of an opinion as to the way in which we can best serve the common cause as is any London committee. It is true that Indians do not contribute a pie to our salaries, nor is it fitting that they should do so; but a foreign legion which claimed to act independently, even if it drew no rations, would not be a welcome auxiliary in any campaign.

The acceptance of the fact that the English members of a Mission council shall be ultimately outnumbered by the Indian is part of a policy of faith. It is a policy which the "Presbyterian Church in India," a Church which has set such a noble example in the way of healing up home divisions in the foreign field, has adopted. Its success in finding an Indian like Dr. K. C. Chatterjee, capable of worthily filling the post of Moderator of the Lahore Presbytery, makes us ask whether we Anglican Churchmen have not been in part to blame that there is as yet no Indian in Episcopal orders.

When we look at the *Indian National Missionary Society*, which has just been formed, and has aroused so much enthusiasm by its appeal to the "*swadeshi*" ideals from their best side, we find that an association which intends to use only Indian workers, and Indian funds, under Indian control, is sufficiently awake to the advantages of co-operation to have invited the assistance of an advisory council of foreign missionaries. The founders of the I.N.M.S. do not desire the current of *swadeshi* thought to carry them outside the circle of Brotherhood. The recognition by a purely Indian body of the principle for which this article pleads, even when the *raison d'être* of the Society is to secure freedom from Western control, is especially noticeable.

The same principle which applies to India applies also to China. The younger Chinese pastors have their eyes on Japan, where the foreign missionary holds no position of superiority in the councils of the Nippon sei Kokwai, and we cannot expect that, any more than in India, they will endure a separation which is construed as a badge of inferiority, or will remain content with a native Church council system which gives the chairmanship and the power of veto on the council's proceedings, to a foreigner, and at the same time separates them from the general body of foreign missionaries. That which is Sir F. Younghusband's ideal for Imperial rule should be ours also in missionary work, for the Church should lead and not fall behind the State in its practical application of the ideals of Christian brotherhood.

Equal opportunities to equal capacity and equal loyalty is an ideal which ought to be as possible in the ranks of the army of Christ as Lord Curzon's Imperial Cadet Corps aims at making it in the army of the King Emperor.

We teach the lessons of England's struggle for freedom in Church and State in all our Mission schools, and we must beware lest we give occasion to eastern races to think that we expect them to believe that the ideals which such a record sets before them are meant only for western peoples and must not enter into the dreams of the East.

That the justice and impartiality of the average English political administrator wins the cordial respect of those over whom he rules is beyond question; but there are "diversities of operation," and in the organisation of Eastern Churches, we Western missionaries are not primarily administrators, but need to remember that the great apostle St. Peter was content to style himself a fellow elder with the pastors of the scattered Churches of Asia Minor.

J. A. Wood.

## THE SECOND STAGE OF MISSIONARY WORK.

IN the world-wide missionary field there must needs be many diverse methods of operation. We go to work in one way among the Eastern races with their ancient civilisations, and in another among the negroes of Central Africa. Even within the limits of the Dark Continent itself there is room for marked differences. For instance, take Africa on the north and on the south of the Zambezi River, that is the two main divisions in the southern half of the continent. In the one case we have a country which has been a sphere of missionary work for a century ; whilst, in the region between the Zambezi and the Equator, missionary work dates its commencement within fifty years, and has been in systematic operation for little more than half that time. We find another point of difference in the fact that in the one case there is a large European population which has now taken root and made itself a home, so much so that South Africa is spoken of as a white man's country, whereas in the north the white man is a comparatively new comer, and it is a question whether he will ever be anything but a foreigner, as he is in India, where he may control and take the leading part in the work of development, but cannot hope to displace or to supersede the Asiatic hundreds of millions.

There is another important fact to be observed, viz., the difference in their attitude towards each other of the white and the black in the two subdivisions of the continent. In the south the relations between the black and the white are very unsatisfactory. There is a deep-rooted antagonism between them. The white man, on grounds more or less plausible, looks upon the country as his. The black man is an inconvenient drawback ; he

is in the way. He is occupying considerable tracts of land towards which many longing glances are cast. The question is continually being asked, Why should he be allowed to cumber the ground, occupying and using it for his own benefit, when the white man might be making much better use of it? His only right to a place in the community at all is that he may work for the white man in return for the benefits he enjoys of a settled government and the protection of a just régime which were unknown under his own tribal system.

Though this is the extreme view, it is entertained by so large a proportion of white men in South Africa that it cannot be ignored.

The black man may and does demur to this account of the position. He says, you are an intruder. We never asked you to come here. We did well enough without you. We were not so badly off under our own chiefs as you try to make out. With you there have come into our country many evils of the very existence of which we were formerly ignorant. There are diseases amongst us which were unknown till you came. These are sapping the strength of our people, and are causing a greater mortality than the most bloody of our inter-tribal wars. Our cattle have been swept almost out of existence by the plagues you brought here in your imported stock.

This question has undoubtedly two sides; of the white man's case we hear more than sufficient, but the dim silent masses of natives in the background have very little chance of making themselves heard except through the few white men who have the will and the opportunity to speak for them, and who are listened to with ill-concealed impatience.

When we cross the Zambezi we find ourselves in another atmosphere. No one can pretend that the central African regions are anything but a black man's country. The few Europeans who as yet are sprinkled in twos and threes over that immense region recognise the logic of facts.

The largest trading corporation in the country is conducted on higher lines than those which usually prevail in such cases. It is based on the avowed principle of

justice and goodwill to the native races. The employés of the company are selected with a regard for this rule. Moreover the Government administration both in British Central Africa and in Northern Rhodesia makes for the benefit and advancement of the black man. There are exceptions among the subordinate officials, some of whom could be improved upon, but the general spirit of the administration is good. Both these influences, the commercial and the administrative, may be reckoned upon by the missionaries for friendly co-operation.

We are probably right in ascribing to these circumstances the fact that there are signs in British Central Africa and in Northern Rhodesia of a surprisingly rapid advance among the natives on the secular side of life. To a visitor from the southern colonies it is almost startling to find how much is left in the hands of black men. It was a revelation to the present writer four years ago, to find that the little river steamer on which he embarked at Chinde to go up the Zambezi was manned by a crew of local natives. The skipper and his mate were the only white men on board. The whole of the active duties, stoking, engine-driving, and steering, as well as the steward's work in providing for the wants of the half-dozen passengers, were in the hands of the black men. All seemed to go with the regularity of clockwork, everyone knew his duties and there was no waste of words. Further on, when leaving the Zambezi and entering the Shiré, its tributary, we transhipped into a smaller vessel, we found the captain had not even a mate, he was the only white man on board, and as it happened he collapsed with fever just as we started, and we were left entirely in the hands of the native crew, yet all seemed to go on as usual. On our way up Lake Nyassa we called at Kotakota, where there is a station of the Transcontinental telegraph. We had time to land there while the steamer was wooding, and wishing to send on a message we walked up to the office, and found there a young native, who with his wife had been educated at one of the missionary institutions. They were dressed in their native costume, but scrupulously clean, in their white calico robes, and spoke quite good English. They were

the only persons at the office, and we handed in our messages, which were sent on in the usual way without hesitation or trouble of any kind.

These are salient instances of the way in which the black man in those regions is advancing onwards and upwards. We hardly need to point the contrast between this way of doing things and that which obtains in the colonies further south. Much has been said and written of late years in the way of criticism on the methods of those to whom has fallen the duty of educating the natives in South Africa. We are told on all hands that what they need to be taught is to work ; but we have to ask the question, what kind of work ? If unskilled labour is meant, there is no need for us to teach the native to do that. As a matter of fact, nearly all the unskilled labour in South Africa is already being done by natives, and where they have fair play there is no backwardness on their part to do it. Skilled labour is another thing altogether, for here we are at once confronted by the European workman who charges us with taking the bread out of his mouth. The few skilled native workmen who come out of the more advanced missionary institutions may find scope for their energies, but if the process of turning out such were carried forward on a large scale, there would speedily be an outcry that would make necessary a reconsideration of the whole question.

In saying this there is no wish to sit in judgment on the European skilled workman. As he views the matter it is not unnatural that his own interests should come first. His horizon, when he assumes this attitude, is avowedly limited to this world, and he would scorn the suggestion that he might be open to any altruistic fads. In the language of the South African newspapers anything of that sort is only fit for Exeter Hall. The fact that the European skilled workman is opposed to the instruction of the native in his own line is here referred to merely as a fact bearing on the comparison between the ways of working in two respective spheres of missionary activity.

But let us come now to the essential matter, to which all the foregoing remarks are merely preliminary. We recur to the contrast which strikes the visitor who has been

accustomed all his life to the slower methods of South Africa, when he sees the comparative rapidity of the process by which, in the northern half of the sub-continent, the native is developed out of raw heathenism into—not merely a convert—but an active Christian worker. The writer can only speak with confidence of those stations which he has personally visited, and where he has spent some time. It seems to him as though the leading principle were that as soon as a young man gives adequate proof of the great change which we speak of as conversion, and as soon as he has made some progress in school knowledge, he is encouraged to go out and to take charge for a term of a village school. He may have to start a school where there is not one already. He may know comparatively little, but that little he can go and teach others. He then comes back for a further spell to the head station to carry his own studies on a step further. He not only does school-work, but he holds religious services, so that it often comes to pass that a missionary station is surrounded by a district in which there may be as many as thirty or forty village schools and centres where the Gospel in its rudiments is preached every Lord's Day. It has to be borne in mind that these are quite young men, only a few years distant from the condition of mere heathenism in which they spent their childhood. The writer is in occasional correspondence with a man who twelve years ago was a raw kitchen boy with a yard of calico round his waist. He is now working at an out-station on the Luanza River, very far from his missionary headquarters. His term of two years will expire in August. He is alone there in a purely heathen district with his wife. He writes a fairly good English letter in excellent handwriting. He has been severely handled by opponents of his work, and at the time of his last letter was still suffering from the effects of blows, yet he seemed quite content and took it all as part of the day's work; though he was naturally looking forward with great pleasure to the prospect of reunion with friends on his return for a time to his own home.

It may seem a bold policy to put so much into the hands of recent and comparatively immature converts, but

so far the results have justified it. Failures there are of course. We hear of failure in the case of men reared in the lap of Christian culture who go out to the world with all the promise and prestige of university degrees. On the other hand there is this advantage in the bolder and more trustful policy, that those who having been put to the test have come through successfully are themselves the better for it, and as for us, we know better where we are with them. Then we have to think of the enormous and rapid extension of Gospel light on such lines. The light may not be very brilliant, but it is light, it is the light of the dawn, and it is permeating by these means regions so vast that they would depress us if we had only our thinly sprinkled European agency to look to. The European missionary in Central Africa has constantly as a burden on his heart the sense of transitoriness and uncertainty. He must be an exceptional man if he is not himself periodically laid aside by attacks of malarial fever. He may survive these, but they almost invariably leave behind them impaired strength and energy. The probabilities are that he will never reach old age, or that he may have to retire from the field and go home a broken man, or take up duty in some less arduous sphere. Then again, the missionary enterprise is always expanding in volume, and flowing into new regions once practically inaccessible, but now open and calling for European influence, both secular and spiritual. Added to this, the activities of the Christian Church are being more and more absorbed in dealing with the lost and long neglected masses around its own walls and at its own gates. It runs the risk of being over-weighted with the ever-increasing demands to which it is now awaking with a keener spiritual sensitiveness. It would seem to be only common sense to avail ourselves to the very utmost of the energies of the native converts themselves.

In connection with this thought a question arises which needs handling with delicacy and reserve. It behoves us to speak with reverence of those who were the pioneers in the great missionary departure commencing with the close of the eighteenth century. We have to remember that the work as they handled it was of the nature of an experiment. New conditions had to be faced, new problems to be solved.



Now, a man may leave London and within a month may find himself at his station on the banks of the Zambezi. Then, it took a man two or three months to make the voyage to the Cape. After a long delay there, and multifarious preparations, which absorbed much thought and money, there was the ox-wagon journey of weeks or months into the interior. There, in his isolation, the missionary had to be his own doctor, house-builder, carpenter, blacksmith, and farmer. There was no one near whom he could employ, even if he could have afforded to pay for such service out of his slender stipend. No wonder the work went on but slowly in those days; no wonder if somewhat conservative methods obtained and have held their own even when more favourable conditions have come into being. Moreover, many of those earlier missionaries never revisited their native land, and did not enjoy the stimulating influences which have so quickened the pace in our modern life that nothing now contents us but express trains and telegrams. It may even be asked if their successors have sufficiently improved on their methods, and have been ready enough to turn to account the store of latent ability and energy in the native converts prepared for us by the devoted pioneers who went before us, and had the slow and thankless labour of clearing the ground in the first instance.

It may well be that we have lost a good deal by our own timidity. The methods which we see being pursued in British Central Africa and in Northern Rhodesia suggest to us a timely lesson. Would it not be well to emphasise the principle in regard to our native disciples, that as soon as ever we see in them the evidences of a genuine change and a whole-hearted acceptance of the Gospel message, they should at once begin to pass that message on to others. Then, as the young native communities grow, would it not be well to avoid the danger involved in keeping them in a state of tutelage and dependence, and to urge upon them the duty of standing upon their own feet, and accepting their own share of responsibility? Are we afraid of their blundering? Their own blunders will teach them the truest wisdom, if the root of the matter be in them, and if it is not, what have we been doing all the time? The

child cannot learn to walk without many falls. That is all part of his education. Far better that the native disciples should make mistakes and have to fall back upon their European teachers for sympathy and advice, than that they should chafe under an enforced subjection, in which they would not fail to perceive and to reflect on the fact that the missionaries were not wholly infallible. It would be a dangerous thought to be allowed to rankle in their minds, that they could manage better if they were given their own heads, and had liberty to do things in their own way. It is not impossible that the trouble which we call Ethiopianism may find a source of strength in our timid conservatism. We all know that the exciting cause, the initiative of Ethiopianism, came from the United States. It was an importation, but we may well ask whether the soil had not been already prepared for it here. There is a store of latent energy in our native churches.

In the far-off days there will be problems with which our descendants will have to deal, and we may do something to prepare the way for the solution of those problems ourselves. I have referred to the term applied to South Africa, a "white man's country." There must be a reservation in the use of this phrase. The white man is here, he lives and thrives here. But he is not alone here. Despite the wastage for which mining centres and the liquor trade are responsible, the alarming spread of consumption and other diseases, there is an immense mass of natives, a large proportion of whom are rising in the scale of comfort, education and religion, and show every sign of holding their own. The two nations cannot go on living for generations side by side without interacting upon each other, and without any change in their social relations. The black man cannot remain a permanent child under the tutelage and control of the white man. Is it not better then that we should encourage rather than retard his development, so that he may stand side by side with us in all branches of civilisation, but notably in the spiritual life, which must permeate all these in their combined effects on life and character, individual and collective?

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almost entire absence in some of the most widely used vernaculars of books for devotional or theological reading, the clergy must be taught English thoroughly. And this can only be done as matters are at present by educating them when young up to university standard, whether at a mission school and college or not.

But this theoretically possible answer is made actually of no force by the simple fact that it is the rarest result—I do not personally know of a single case—for a Christian student who has been successful in taking full advantage of higher English education to devote himself to the work of the ministry. Nor would they necessarily be an improvement if they did. Even of the highest type we read in a recent publication the admission by a keen educationalist : “ We saturate our students with a Western basis of thought, and thus unfit them to lead their own Indian brothers to Christ. And those who have failed to reach a standard which would fit them for lucrative Government employment, and occasionally do seek mission work, are generally found to have been wholly unfitted by their prolonged association with the ambitions and stir of their school and college life, and in most cases companionship with higher castes or races, to undertake the drudgery and isolation of work among the simple villagers whence they sprang. The spirit of a Keble is not to be found so commonly even in England. I am not girding at native Christians because they do not surpass ourselves in this. The missionary spirit is rare in us and them alike.

But I am told that this is really a matter of pay, and that until we give a B.A. or M.A. as good pay as a priest as he would get in Government employment we have no right to hope for a higher type of clergy. I have partly answered this already. I have not patience to answer it in detail, further than by asking whether it is seriously believed that if the incomes of the clergy at home were at once raised to the level of those of successful doctors and barristers, and those of us missionaries to that of the Indian Civil Service, any real spiritual gain would accrue ?

Even the visionary absurdity of supposing such increase of pay possible when we are at our wits' end to pay, or induce their congregations to pay, the present small

stipends of the native clergy, seems to me less objectionable than the underlying assumption. "Well then, cannot you be content with good pious men with a minimum amount of secular education?" I am asked. For instance, the Chhota Nagpur clergy are generally held up as an example, receiving a salary which their congregations are able to pay, and racy of the soil. Yes, very racy of the soil. It engrosses their attention and energies to a degree that would not meet with approval in parish clergy at home. And yet I am sometimes thankful that their low pay compels them to be farmers. Just as I know cases of country clergy in agricultural parishes at home whose farming serves to keep them out of mischief. They won't spend their leisure reading, and the Chhota Nagpur clergy *can't*. For there is little or nothing for them to read in the only languages which they know. And here comes in the harm that has resulted from devoting the ablest missionaries in so many places to educational work. For the most part they learn no vernacular thoroughly. Tacitly assumed in some missions, openly laid down in the regulations of at least one, an exception is made in the case of educational missionaries to the rule that examinations in the vernacular must be passed. Overwhelmed by the daily drudgery of teaching boys English grammar and similar subjects, or at best a smattering of "philosophy," sick, like Charles Lamb, of "perpetual boy," the missionary has neither time nor energy to devote to linguistic work. For the good of the boys' English he converses with them in that language, and so misses the great opportunity which being compelled to talk in the vernacular continually gives to his medical colleague, who has perhaps even less time for systematic language study. And so a Christian literature in the vernacular still remains a desideratum, and is likely to remain so for long, unless we change our methods. And some of our best men after many years in the country are still unable to preach or lecture with ease in any language but English. While as to such a knowledge of the great classical tongues of India—Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian—as would compel the admiration and respect of Hindus and Mohammedans, the educational missionary who attains to this must be indeed a genius and a prodigy.

any attempt to evangelise by preaching. Another is that so few missionaries ever learn the village dialects. Throughout India side by side with the written languages there are these dialects. And the uneducated villagers can understand nothing else. These dialects *cannot* be learned except by mixing with the villagers. And perhaps much of the barrenness that is complained of in itinerant preaching is due to the fact that where attempted it has too often been in language which was really an unknown tongue to the people.

A missionary who could be eloquent and persuasive in their very own dialect might produce results hitherto undreamt of. And his use of it would soon put an end to the painful absurdity that so many native agents think that the dignity of Christianity is imperilled if they speak in anything but high-flown book language. One is continually reminded of the semi-Latin English of eighteenth century divines, which in my boyhood it was considered proper to reproduce for a congregation of agricultural yokels at home. But besides dialects of the great Aryan languages, there are the distinct non-Aryan tribal languages. In North India, except Santali, in which a considerable Christian literature is growing up, these have been greatly neglected. And yet it is the speakers of these who can be most readily won to Christianity, and the low level which such nominal Christians have as yet attained is *very* largely due to the fact that they are not taught, and services are not held, in their own tongue. Especially among the women has this been disastrous. In all mass movements towards Christianity one of the most important factors in determining whether the initial inevitable low level is to be crystallised into a permanence or not will be the amount of instruction given to the women. To secure anything but the most parrot-like repetition of a few formulæ demands intimate acquaintance on the part of the missionary himself with the tribal language. At present no native agent can be trusted to take the trouble to teach mere women without constant and intelligent supervision. And a knowledge of these languages on the missionary's part will enable him to associate with himself the native agents in translation

work—too often at present where any at all is done it has to be done by the native workers almost unguided—and ultimately inspire them to original work. These tribal languages are not unworthy of the study of the highest intellect, not only when we consider the end in view, but from a philological and ethnological standpoint. But for us missionaries the great end must be motive enough.

“Lord ! grant me grace to bend  
 Until my years I end  
 Over the poorest tongues beneath the suns ;  
 Such clay may yet supply  
 Gems for some liturgy,  
 And God's thoughts clothe themselves from lowly lexicons.”

And the intimate acquaintance with the customs of the tribe, which is gained *pari passu* with a knowledge of their language, gives a missionary great influence both with the people and with the Government officials who rule them. And this may turn out, and often has turned out, to the furtherance of Christianity. I have in my mind a Jesuit missionary whose great intellectual powers had for many years been exercised as Professor of Philosophy in one of the most famous educational institutions in India. He was transferred, with apparent reckless ignoring of his powers, but real wisdom, to a lonely outpost among an aboriginal tribe. He is now, owing to his unsurpassed knowledge of their language and customs, not only a power among the tribe, but able to influence, almost at his pleasure, both the legislative and administrative acts of Government. Had an equally far-sighted wisdom sent there an Anglican missionary of calibre like his when our Church had all the advantages which being first in the field gives, we should not now be in the miserably back-seat position in which we are in that district.

Where there is at present only a single educational missionary it might not be possible for him to run both a training school and a hostel. But that my idea of the value of hostels, instead of full educational work, as a means of influencing students is true is proved by the work done by the Oxford Mission Hostel in Calcutta and the Oxford and Cambridge Hostel in Allahabad.

## THE MOHAMMEDAN GOSPEL OF BARNABAS.

TOWARDS the latter end of the sixteenth century, when the Italian Renaissance was already long past its prime and the Catholic reaction and Spanish absolutism joined hands to smother its last sparks, there flourished (or is said to have flourished) in Rome a certain Fra Marino.

Who he was and whence he came, we are not told. The friars were great travellers, and even the distinctive epithet "da Pisa," "da Bologna," &c., which was often added to the name, does not always denote the birthplace of the friar. Sant' Antonio da Padova, for instance, was a native of Spain. In this case, we lack even so much for our guidance. The name is a common one in Italy to-day, especially as a surname (*Marini*); in history often as a Christian name. It means simply "of the sea," and if it suggests anything would point to an origin in some place on the Mediterranean or Adriatic coast. As a point of fact, Venice boasts several distinguished men of the name in her history-roll, besides the ill-fated Doge Marino Falier. There was a friar, for example, a certain "Maestro Marino dell' ordini S. Francesco," who edited (and edited very indifferently) an Index of Prohibited Books that was published in the year 1549. Another Fra Marino, of rather lurid fame, enlivened the early eighteenth century with a series of adventurous frauds. He seems to have played the heretic also with a view to personal advantage of some kind, and was finally claimed by the Inquisitor on a charge of apostasy when the State had already condemned him to the galleys for offences of a different kind.

Neither of these *Frati*, however, can be identified with the Fra Marino with whom we are concerned, for the former had already reached mature years ere the sixteenth century was half over, and the second was not born till

1573; while the sole chronological *datum* we possess concerning the man of whom we speak, is that he was a friend of Pope Sixtus V., who reigned from 1585 to 1589 A.D.

The interest which centres in this Fra Marino is associated with a short paragraph of some hundred and fifty words, preserved for us by an eighteenth-century writer, paraphrasing a preface, presumably written by the said friar, to a Spanish document now lost. In this preface Fra Marino is represented as claiming to have discovered the long-lost "Gospel of Barnabas." The writer who preserves the substance of the preface is George Sale, whose famous translation of the Koran was published in 1734. In the preface to that book, which he dedicates "To the Reader," Sale writes as follows. He is describing not the Italian "Gospel of Barnabas," but a Spanish translation of it which he had seen, and which was studied also by Dr. White, the Bampton lecturer, in 1784, but has since mysteriously disappeared.

"There is a preface," he says, "prefixed to it wherein the discoverer of the original MS., who was a Christian monk called Fra Marino, tells us that having accidentally met with a writing of Irenæus (among others) wherein he speaks against St. Paul, alleging, for his authority, the Gospel of St. Barnabas, he became exceeding desirous to find this Gospel; and that God, of His mercy, having made him very intimate with Pope Sixtus V., one day as they were together in that Pope's library, his Holiness fell asleep, and he, to employ himself, reaching down a book to read, the first he laid his hand on proved to be the very Gospel he wanted. Overjoyed at the discovery he scrupled not to hide his prize in his sleeve; and, on the Pope's awaking, took leave of him, carrying with him that celestial treasure by reading of which he became a convert to Mohammedanism."

For more than a century the passage just quoted must have had a tantalising interest for its many readers, for it spoke of a lost treasure. And the interest and the chagrin were alike enhanced by the fact that, later on in his book, Sale quoted three short extracts from the book in the original Spanish. His extracts, and his description of the book—as he himself confesses—were drawn from M. de la Monnoye and Mr. Toland. The first reference



is to a French work published in 1715, under the editorship of M. Bernard de la Monnoye, a distinguished Academician. This book, called *Menagiana*, purported to be a miscellany of the wit, wisdom, and learning of the admired and lamented M. Menage, whom his flatterers called the "Varro of the seventeenth century"; but the edition in question contained a good deal of new matter collected by the editor, and among this was the account of the "Gospel of Barnabas." Sale's second reference is to a work published in London in 1713, by the brilliant but somewhat superficial deist, John Toland: *Nazarenus, or Jewish Gentile, and Mahometan Christianity*. It is this Italian MS. about which Toland and La Monnoye wrote: the "Gospel" which aroused the interest of the scholar Cramer and the fighter Prince Eugene of Savoy, and has just been printed for the first time. Henceforth it will be accessible to all readers of Sale's Koran, and to many, perhaps, who have never set eyes on that standard work.

Now that we have this so-called "Gospel" before us, it is interesting to speculate on the story of Fra Marino. The man who on the strength of such a book, "became a convert to Mohammedanism" must have been, one would think, either a fool or a knave—either exceptionally wanting in the critical faculty, or exceeding desirous, for some private reason, to find a justification for apostasy. Even a cursory glance at the substance of the document shows it to be a fraud—founded unmistakably on the four canonical Gospels of Christendom (and therefore not by St. Barnabas or any of his contemporaries); shaping the material of those Gospels on the lines of a very unscientific "harvest," expurgating it freely in a Moslem sense, and mixing Mohammedan and Rabbinical legend to taste. Most of the Mohammedan matter is almost certainly an elaboration of scanty hints to be found in the Koran; but the "local colouring" is so cleverly kept down that it will need some study to determine the precise date to which this literary fraud is to be assigned. Fra Marino himself may be a myth, introduced to give colour to a literary hoax of the end of the seventeenth century; or he may be a barefaced forger who found (or pretended

to find) a precious MS.—possibly a brief Gnostic Gospel in Greek or Latin—in Pope Sixtus' library ; and on the slender basis of that discovery fabricated the ponderous structure of this so-called "Gospel."

There are, however, indications of an earlier date for the *original* "Barnabas," and though the MS. at Vienna rather suspiciously proclaims itself, both by its script and by the paper on which it is written, coeval with our friend Fra Marino, that document may be a later copy (in the handwriting of Marino or of a contemporary of his) taken from an original in the same language dating one or two centuries earlier.

The "Gospel"—fraud though it be—is interesting from several points of view. We must be content just to glance at a few of them : the circumstances of its first-known appearance and the subsequent fortunes of the MS. ; the questions raised by it ; its place in Apocryphal, in Italian, in religious literature ; above all, its bearings on the perennial conflict between Christianity and Islam—such points as these merit at least a cursory treatment.

In the first place, it comes to us with the quaint flavour of eighteenth-century controversy. Its *début* takes place in the days when Richard Steele and Joseph Addison were at their busiest ; and though one does not remember to have found reference to the MS. even in the philosophical-religious section of the *Spectator*, it is closely associated with the rationalistic movement against the errors of which Addison's kindly and sympathetic pen was now and again directed ; as in his portrait (September 5, 1712) of *Tom Puzzle*, the Freethinker, whose knowledge is sufficient to raise doubts, but not to solve them. John Toland, whose writings (not without a certain measure of strenuous self-advertisement) made no small impression on his contemporaries, found this Mohammedan Gospel a perfect godsend for the purposes of his deistic propaganda ; while, by a just irony of fortune, at the other end of the century the Spanish version of the same book was employed by Dr. White in his Bampton lectures to strengthen the bulwarks of orthodoxy !

Toland quotes and refers to the MS. several times in his *Nazarenus*, into which he inserts a translation of

The MS. was celebrated enough within a certain circle, in those opening years of the eighteenth century. Its history during those years, as pieced together from notices in the writings of Cramer, Toland, and La Monnoye, would seem to be as follows :

In 1709, or earlier, the MS. came into the hands of J. F. Cramer, the learned Counsellor to the King of Prussia, who was then residing in Amsterdam, and "had it out of the library of a person of great name and authority" in that city, whose identification—thanks to Toland's love of mystery—is at this date impossible. In that year (1709) Cramer "communicated" it to Toland, who took hasty and inaccurate notes of it and sent an account of his "discovery" to Prince Eugene by the hands of his adjutant-general, the Baron de Hohendorf. Nine years later, in 1718, Toland published a *résumé* of his notes in *Nazarenus*. Meanwhile, probably through the agency of the same Hohendorf, Cramer was able to find in Prince Eugene a purchaser of his precious Codex, to which he prefixed in his own handwriting a Latin preface flattering at once to the document and to the Prince. Cramer's preface is dated "a.d. xx. Iunii, cjcjcccxiii." Within the next two years, *i.e.* some time before 1715, Hohendorf showed the "Gospel" to La Monnoye, who in that year added to the new edition of the *Menagiana* an account of it, with a transcript of Cramer's dedicatory preface, and of five pages of the document itself. Since then the MS. has reposed among the precious books collected by Prince Eugene: first in his own library at Vienna (where Lady Mary Wortley Montague may have handled it when she inspected the collection in 1717 and admired the bindings), and since the Prince's death in 1738, when

the entire collection was bought up by the Emperor, in the Imperial Library of that city. The next notice we have of it is not till 1800, when the learned librarian Michael Denis, inserted in his descriptive catalogue of the MSS. under his charge, the most careful and accurate account of it that had, up till then, appeared. The pencil numbering of the leaves of the MS. in his characteristic handwriting bears witness to the thoroughness of his investigation, though, by a slip, he duplicates the number 138 and so vitiates the whole subsequent series.

A few years ago the late Dr. Hastie, of Glasgow, and Mr. Youngson called attention to the whereabouts of the MS., which scholars had lost sight of, and so made possible the *editio princeps* which has been published this summer.

The problems suggested by the eighteenth-century discussion are not devoid of interest. The date of the MS., which the critics of that day were inclined to put at 1450, or earlier, can now be narrowed down to the second half of the sixteenth century. The question whether or not the Italian Gospel is translated from an Arabic original may be decided, from internal evidence, in the negative, though the notion of an Oriental prototype seems to have been taken for granted by Cramer, Toland, and La Monnoye. Professor Margoliouth supplies to the Oxford edition (p. xlviii) a convincing note on this subject, which corroborates the internal evidence. There can be little doubt—in spite of the contentions of certain Mohammedan controversialists—that the Arabic translation now projected will itself be the first “Arabic Barnabas.” But there are further problems, besides these and the central question of authorship, that still await solution

Cramer conjectured that the original had been “composed by Sergius, the Nestorian monk, one of the three ‘architects’ of the Koran.” As it stands, the book is obviously later than the Koran, but it may contain a nucleus of matter belonging to an equal or earlier antiquity, in the shape of the lost Gnostic “Gospel of Barnabas.”

The document thus suggests a problem of importance to all students of Apocryphal literature.

The “Gospel of Barnabas” is indeed too late in date

them the respect and esteem already inculcated in the Koran for "Issa," son of Mary, the greatest of all the prophets of God, with the exception of Mohammed himself. The basis of the book (as we have remarked above) is the authentic story of the earthly mission of Jesus Christ as narrated in the four canonical Gospels; and this Mohammedan Gospel not only relates all the chief miracles there attributed to the Prophet of Nazareth, but adds at least two others of its own devising—a miraculous acceleration of the harvest at Nain and a repetition of the traditional miracle of Joshua. This latter, by the way, betrays in its context that reckless disregard of proportion which so clearly distinguishes the Apocryphal Gospels from the canonical. The most stupendous of all miracles upon Nature is performed simply to attest the truth of a not very important narrative that is being repeated!

The character of Jesus is depicted throughout as worthy of the highest admiration and reverence, his mission and his revelation as of Divine origin; his birth as miraculous, his path as attended by angelic helpers and monitors, his departure from earth as accompanied by supernatural phenomena. But he is repeatedly made to deny all claim to Divinity or even Messiahship, and to repudiate proffered worship; and predictions are put into his mouth of the future advent of Mohammed, the true Messiah and the "Messenger of God" *par excellence*.

The book is in fact a strange medley of truth and falsehood, of fact and fancy, history and legend. Mingled with the crudest and most puerile stories, surpassing even the trivial incoherences of which the Koran is sometimes guilty, *Barnabas* has solemn and elevated passages to which any devoutly disposed person, Mohammedan or Christian, might listen with advantage. In justification of this statement we may perhaps be pardoned if we quote two short passages *in extenso*. The first is a specimen of *Barnabas'* apocryphal parables:

"There was a man who had great possessions; and in his territory he had desert land that bore only unfruitful things. And so, as he was walking out one day through such desert land, he found among such unfruitful plants a plant that had delicate fruits. Whereupon this man said: 'Now how doth this plant here bear

these so delicate fruits? Assuredly I will not that it be cut down and cast into the fire with the rest.' And having called his servants, he made them dig it up and set it in his garden. Even so I tell you that our God shall reserve from the flames of hell those who work righteousness wheresoever they be" (p. 82).

The second passage is a brief chapter in which God is described as being Himself the reward of the faithful :

"God saith thus to the man who shall faithfully serve Him : ' I know thy works, that thou workest for me. As I live eternally, thy love shall not exceed my bounty. Because thou servest me as God thy Creator, knowing thyself to be my work, and askest nought of me, save grace and mercy to serve me faithfully ; because thou settest no end to my service, seeing thou desirest to serve me eternally : even so will I do, for I will reward thee as if thou wert God, mine equal. For not only will I place in thy hands the abundance of Paradise, but I will give thee myself as a gift ; so that, even as thou art fain to be my servant for ever, even so will I make thy wages for ever.' "

Enough has been said to show the interest of this document to the general student, and its claim on the attention of those who are devoting their lives to that hardest of all missionary tasks, the conflict with Islam.

John Toland, though but a poor critic and a worse theologian—Dean Swift said the greatest insult you could offer to any man would be to say that his opinions resembled Toland's!—shows some promise as a predictive prophet. Speaking of the scribe who wrote the headings to the first twenty (he should have said twenty-seven) chapters in the MS., he remarks : " The author of these summaries was a zealous Musulman, who charges the Christians all along with falsification, from this his only authentic Gospel. But they'll be nothing behindhand with him, whenever his Gospel comes to be better known." That " whenever " was more distant than Toland imagined, but the Clarendon Press has at last brought it near. If the Fra Marino of the Spanish Preface was converted to Islam by this book, it was most probably, as we have hinted, because he had a very strong desire to be converted.

And now that the book is made public—already within three months of publication permission has been asked to translate it into Arabic—Christian missionaries will have

## EDITORIAL NOTES.

*Introductions to our readers.* *Bishop Alan Gibson* writes on the Comity of Missions. After twenty-five years spent in Mission work in

South Africa he has, we regret to say, been compelled to resign his work as coadjutor Bishop of Capetown in order to take a rest in England. He has, however, been asked by the General Synod of South Africa to return, after his health has been restored, and to accept the missionary bishopric of Walfisch Bay together with the West Coast and hinterland in the neighbourhood of Walfisch Bay.

*Bishop Nils Astrop* is Bishop of the Norwegian Church in Natal, where he has been engaged in missionary work amongst the heathen for very many years. Our readers are indebted to the Bishop of Lebombo for securing this article together with that from Mr. Moffat.

*Professor Margoliouth*, the professor of Arabic in Oxford University, describes what is probably an unique occurrence in the history of Mohammedanism, viz. a conference which was convened at Meccah in order to discuss the reasons which may be held to account for the failure of Islam to progress, or even to hold its own, amongst the nations of the world.

In our last issue we included a brief reference to the Laymen's missionary movement which had recently started in America, and representatives of which were then visiting England. We are glad to be able to print an official account of this important movement by *Mr. Alfred E. Marling*, who was himself one of the delegates.

The article on the religion of the Parsees is by *The Rev. J. H. Moulton, D.Litt. London*, formerly Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, tutor in the Didsbury Theological College, Manchester and the author of *A Grammar of New Testament Greek, The Science of Language, &c.* ;

also author of the article on Zoroastrianism in Hastings's Bible Dictionary. He studied Zend for fifteen years with the late Professor Cowell, whose memory is dear to all old missionaries from Bengal.

*The Rev. J. A. Wood*, who writes on the co-operation of the East and the West missionary work, is the principal of the C.M.S. High School at Batala in the Punjab.

*The Rev. J. S. Moffat, C.M.G.*, who writes on "The Second Stage of Missionary Work," is a son of the well-known Dr. Robert Moffat, the father-in-law of Dr. Livingstone. He has been engaged in work in South Africa since 1859; he was for some time Resident Magistrate in Basutoland and Bechuanaland, and afterwards Assistant Commissioner in Bechuanaland and Matabeleland.

*Dr. Kennedy*, who contributes a further article to the discussion of the relative importance of educational and evangelistic work in India at the present time, was the head of the Dublin University Mission at Hazaribagh, Chhota Nagpur, and is now a missionary in connection with the S.P.G. at Murhu.

*The Rev. Lonsdale Ragg, B.D.*, who writes on the Gospel of Barnabas, was formerly a tutor at Christ Church, Oxford, and afterwards Warden of the Bishop's Hostel, Lincoln, and a prebendary in Lincoln Cathedral.

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*Punch and the making of history.* In the article in our last issue entitled "The Influence of Laymen on Missions" the writer says: "Readers of Indian history will remember the famous laconic message in which Sir Charles Napier announced to the Viceroy his disobedience to orders, and its result in the occupation of of Sindh: 'Peccavi.'" Mrs. C. W. Mackintosh writes to us to say that this message was never sent by Sir Charles Napier, but was invented by her cousin Catherine Wentworth, the translator of "Lyra Germanica." Catherine Wentworth was then a young girl just out of the school-room, and was receiving lessons from Mr. Gaskell to whom, after discussing with him Sir Charles Napier's conquest, she made the remark "Peccavi," I have Sindh. On his suggestion the joke was sent to *Punch*, the Editor of which



sent her a cheque in acknowledgment. So completely has *Punch's* joke passed into history that the following statement made by a member in the House of Commons in 1881 passed unchallenged, "I would wish the Government to imitate the spirit of Napier who after a brilliant victory on the Indus in a despatch of unexampled brevity had said 'Peccavi.'" We wonder how many more "historical statements" have originated in the columns of *Punch*.

*The Hope of the  
Church.*

THE writer of the article entitled "The Hope of the Church," whose official position affords him exceptional opportunities for discussing the subject of which his article treats, desires to remain anonymous; but we are at liberty to state that he is a member of the London branch of the Junior Clergy Association, and is himself looking forward to undertaking work abroad. We cordially commend his article to his fellow members of the J.C.M.A. and to all clergy in England. The principle enunciated in the article is one which applies equally to all societies and to all who are engaged in Christian work of any kind at home. When after the battle of Cannae Hannibal was about to march on Rome, which apparently lay helpless at his feet, he suddenly abandoned the attempt after receiving information brought by one of his spies that after the news of the disastrous defeat at Cannae had been received the ground on which the victor was camped had been put up for sale by auction, and had realised a very large sum. To attack a people inspired by such faith in their own future appeared to him to be useless. There are many who tell us that Christianity in England was never in such peril as at the present time. If there be any truth whatever in this statement, we should do well to imitate the faith and courage of the ancient Romans. For every attack which threatens the citadel of our faith at home let us give some practical proof, such as was given by them, of our confidence that the Christian faith will not only survive all attacks which may be made upon it at home but will eventually occupy the very positions which seem most impregnable abroad.

## REVIEWS.

*A Literary History of India.* By R. W. Frazer, LL.B. London.  
T. Fisher Unwin. New edition. 12s. 6d. net.

THIS is a reprint of a well-known work, intended both for the student and the general reader, and first published in 1898. The author, Mr. R. W. Frazer, is in every way competent for the task; he has lived for several years in Southern India, and is a master of Sanskrit, Tamil, and Telugu; his reputation as a scholar and historian is well known; his Celtic temperament inspires him with enthusiasm and sympathy for strange races; and his English is clear and full, occasionally eloquent.

To write the history of any foreign literature is always a difficult task; the atmosphere is strange, the connotation of words and ideas entirely different; and musical cadence is lost on an uneducated ear. Indeed, the full appreciation of a poet by a foreigner is well nigh impossible. Can a Frenchman or a German appreciate the technique of Tennyson? How many Englishmen can make musical the choruses of Aeschylus or the lines of Racine? In the case of India, the difficulties which beset the literary historian are unusually great; the air of dreaminess, the riot of fancy, the confusion of the divine, the human, and the animal, the basal beliefs in pessimism, transmigration, and impersonal Pantheism, the indifference to humanity and the sympathy for everything that is not human, the preference for deductive and analytic over synthetic modes of thought, when these and many similar obstacles have been overcome the interpreter is still confronted with the unsolved problems of a chronology so vague that he cannot say whether the greatest of the Indian dramatists, the author of the classic *Sakuntala*, lived in 50 B.C. or 500 A.D. And there is more than this. The popular literature of the country is for the most part religious poetry; but apart from this religious poetry there is a mass of fleeting literature, most of it unknown, and scarcely any of it published, metrical chronicles which preserve the annals of some Sun- or Moon-descended line, the love-songs of poetesses—true *Volks-Lieder*, and the folk-tales which have migrated in such numbers to Europe, but which are represented in a history of Indian literature only by the ancient *Jatakas*.

So that a history of Indian literature is almost entirely confined to its religious, which is also its permanent literature, whether in Sanskrit or vernacular. And the range of this religious literature is enormous, both in respect of time and of quantity. It overshadows everything; if we except science and the drama, it embraces everything, theology and myth, law and ritual, the epics and philosophy. It is the chief record we possess, partial and fragmentary though it be, of Indian history; almost the sole monument of the past greatness of the Hindu genius. So that the historian of Indian literature is perforce a historian of Indian religions and Hindu philosophy. He plunges into a sea without a shore.

Now all the problems of India, ethical, ethnical, linguistic, philosophical, religious, and social, which confront the historian, ultimately merge in one. From Peshawar to Patna we have a society more homogeneous in blood, language, structure and religion than most nations of Western Europe. Outside this area as far as the Gulf of Bengal and Cape Comorin, the same processes, social and religious, have gone on, although the fusion is less complete. Hinduism, despite its infinite nuances and variations in detail, is everywhere and essentially one. Now Hindu society is the most hierocratic of all societies; it has always professed itself to be immutable, exclusive, rigid with the rigidity which comes of a divinely-established order. And yet it is in non-essentials (and the essentials are few) the most flexible of systems, and built up of the most heterogeneous elements. Prehistoric Aryans, dark-skinned Dravidians, Indo-Scyths from Central Asia, Tibeto-Burman and Malay races in the North-East, have all been assimilated and absorbed. Hinduism has taken to its bosom the most lofty speculations, the grossest superstitions, the animistic faith of savages. For every stage of civilisation it finds an appropriate place. How are its professions and its principles to be reconciled with the patent facts? Primitive societies are largely based upon fictions, but here is a society, far from primitive, which unites groups the most civilised and the most savage, equally on the basis of a gigantic fiction. Thus the whole of Indian history is a progress from antagonism to reconciliation and fusion. The main stages of its development are clear, but we are still in the dark with regard to most of the details. We start with pastoral Aryan tribes of Indo-Iranian stock who invaded the Punjab; they were occasionally at war with each other, and always at war with the previous occupants, who were probably Dravidians. They put the dark-skinned men to death, and married the women. Then a hiatus, and we next find these tribes, or some of them, in possession of the upper Doab between the Ganges and the Jumna, and stretching away along the foot of the

Himalayas to the Gandak, and down the banks of the great rivers as far as Benares. These hybrid Aryans of *Aryavarta*, and not the Vedic Aryans of the Punjab, are the true progenitors of all that was to follow. They developed a novel religion; they founded a society upon the magic of sacrifice and on caste; they admitted the *Dasyas* to a subordinate position; and they awakened the germs of religious and metaphysical speculation. The evolution of Sivaism and Buddhism marks the first attempt to bring the Sudras completely within the fold; and a further advance is made in the later epic. The twice-born Aryan had long hoped to attain to the power of a divinity by the magic of sacrifice, or the asceticism which constrained the gods; while the philosopher, transcending such futilities, sought to incorporate himself in the divine essence by contemplation. Women and Sudras had been originally beyond the pale; neither heaven nor the Brahmins troubled themselves about things so mean and insignificant. But Buddhism and popular Hinduism made an advance, and welcomed them with open arms; they might find a refuge in Buddhist quietism, or—what was simpler—if they were orthodox Hindus, they might find salvation in pilgrimage, and in the hearing of those popular scriptures, the Epics. The final stage began with the assimilation of the Indo-Scyths, and the embodiment of the impersonal Brahman in the Aryan Vishnu, or the non-Aryan Siva. Vishnu, whose home was in *Aryavarta* proper, entered into the heritage of the semi-Aryan Buddha, and allied himself with the dark aboriginal god of the Indus valley, Krishna. Mediæval Hinduism opens with the rise of the Rajputs, and their unifying ideals of chivalry and honour; caste shifts its basis from race to occupation; and the scholastic philosophy culminates in the teachings of the youthful Sankara. When mediæval Hinduism was in its fullest bloom, the Mohammedan invasion laid it low; but after two centuries it began to revive, striving to reconcile Mohammedan universalism, and the mysticism of the Sufis, perhaps also the precepts of the Gospel, with its own old Pantheistic basis and philosophy. And so it went on to the nineteenth century, developing a lofty if somewhat hazy spiritualism on the one hand, and a grossness which often led to orgiastic sensualism, on the other. Now the materials for the study of this long course of evolution are mainly to be found in the Indian literature—a literature of the schools, for the most part, it is true, which took so little heed of current events that we are fain to extract crumbs of history from grammatical examples; a literature, moreover, which is extremely one-sided, and often misleading; but still a literature which was an expression of the religious thought, or an adaptation to the religious (which also meant the social) problems of the time. Thus the history of Indian literature is not only

*New Ideas in India during the Nineteenth Century.* A study of social, political, and religious developments. By the Rev. John Morrison, D.D. 282 pp. Published by Macmillan. Price 7s. 6d. net.

THIS volume consists of a series of lectures delivered to students at Edinburgh and Glasgow Universities. The writer spent twenty years in India, during part of which time he was Principal of the College belonging to the Established Church of Scotland in Calcutta. He maintains that the "evolution of India" is as striking as is its apparent rigidity, and that this evolution affects practically the whole of the religious and social life of the people. In discussing the slowly changing opinions in regard to caste he enters a protest against the countenance lent to the existing system by some of the statements inserted in the official Government census. He says: "The compilers of the Report of the Census of India for 1901, in their enumeration of castes, give the *imprimatur* of Government to such Cimmerian notions as that the touch of certain low castes is defiling to the higher. We read that 'while a Nayar can pollute a man of a higher caste only by touching him, people of the Kammalan group—including masons, blacksmiths, carpenters, and workers in leather—pollute at a distance of 24 feet; toddy drawers, at 36 feet; Palayan or Cheruman cultivators, at 48 feet; while in the case of the Paraiyan (pariahs), who eat beef, the range of pollution is stated to be no less than 64 feet.' . . . Interesting as all that table of precedence is, it is out of place in a Government report, which may be quoted against a poor low-caste man as authoritative pronouncement regarding his social position. It is no mere fancy that after an accident one of these low-caste masons in South India might be brought to the door of a Government hospital and be refused admission by a native medical officer because his presence polluted at a distance of 24 feet—has not the Government report declared it so?"

A large portion of the lectures consists of a description of the new religious movements which have taken place in India during the past century, especially the Brahma Samaj, the Arya Samaj, and the teaching of the Theosophists. It is discouraging to note that the one religious movement other than Christianity which seems likely to spread amongst the educated classes, viz. the Arya Samaj, is bitterly anti-Christian and anti-British. Lala Lajpat Rai is one of its chief advocates, and under his guidance it has tended to become more and more political in its aims. The writer draws a contrast between the influence in India of the Christian Church and of Christ Himself. There is," he says, "a profound homage to the Founder of Christianity coupled

with that strong resentment towards His Indian disciples. Christ Himself is acknowledged ; His Church is still foreign and British. Resentfully ruled by a Christian nation, but subdued by Christ Himself, is the state of educated India to-day. In spite of His alien birth, and in spite of anti-British bias, Christ has passed within the pale of Indian recognition. Indian eyes, focussed at last, are fastened upon Him, and men wonder at His gracious words."

The writer agrees with several others who have recently maintained that pantheism and the doctrine of transmigration are ceasing to exert influence upon the peoples of India, whilst monotheism and the doctrine of a future personal life are exerting an ever-widening influence. Moreover, the theism which is gaining ground in India "is more and more emphatically Christian theism. Anyone may observe," he says, "that the name other than 'God' by which the Deity is almost universally named by educated Hindus is 'The Father,' or 'Our Heavenly Father,' or some such name. The new name is not a rendering of any of the vernacular names in use in modern India ; it is due directly to its use in English literature and in Christian preaching and teaching."

Dr. Morrison is alive to the exceeding difficulty of forming, or transmitting to others, trustworthy impressions of the present state of India. He quotes with approval the words of Strabo written in the first century B.C. : " We must take with discrimination what we are told about India, for it is the most distant of lands, and few of our nation have seen it. Those, moreover, who have seen it have seen only a part, and most of what they say is no more than hearsay. Even what they saw they became acquainted with only while passing through the country with an army, in great haste. Yea, even their reports about the same things are not the same, although they write as if they had examined the things with the greatest care and attention. Some of the writers were fellow-soldiers and fellow-travellers, yet oft-times they contradict each other." He closes with the words of Clough quoted by Lord Curzon in one of his last speeches in India :—

" Where lies the land to which the ship would go ?  
Far, far ahead, is all her seamen know.  
And where the land she travels from away ?  
Far, far behind, is all that they can say."

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*The Brahmans, Theists, and Muslims of India* : studies of goddess worship in Bengal, caste Brahmanism, and social reform, with descriptive sketches of curious festivals, ceremonies, and faquirs. By J. C. Oman. 342 pp. Published by Fisher Unwin. Price 14s. net.

MR. OMAN, who was formerly a professor of natural science at Lahore, will be known to some of our readers as the author of "The Mystics, Ascetics, and Saints of India." The present volume is by no means of equal value, as it deals with questions which have formed the subject of many other recent books. It contains the best account of the Brahma Samaj and of the teaching and career of Keshub Chunder Sen which we have seen. The author deals with the subject of caste from a very sympathetic standpoint, and quotes a curious parallel from English history to the caste regulations which compel a man in India to follow the trade of his caste. "In England an ancient enactment required all men who at any time took up the calling of coal-mining or drysalting to keep to that occupation for life, and enjoined that their children should also follow the same employment." This law was only repealed in the fifteenth year of the reign of George III. We do not know whether the author professes any religious faith. It seems impossible that anyone who has even a rudimentary knowledge of the Christian faith could write as he does, to the effect that every Christian believes that he "along with his co-religionists is chosen of God to the exclusion of the rest of mankind, and has special knowledge of the one and only way to propitiate God and attain heaven." It is distressing to think that this volume may fall into the hands of some readers in India who may be led to suppose that such a statement is true.

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*The White Man's Work in Asia and Africa.* A discussion of the main difficulties of the colour question. By L. Alston. 136 pp. Published by Longmans. Price 3s. net.

THIS is an essay which gained the Maitland Prize at Cambridge in 1906. Though the writer has apparently had no actual intercourse with any of the native races of Asia or Africa, his essay is deserving of the attention of students of foreign missions. Its readers will feel that, even if the book fails to provide any solution of the problems which it treats, it has helped them to a fuller realisation of the difficulties attaching to any solution and to distrust all solutions which have yet been proposed. Its three sections are entitled "Christian ethics and philosophy in relation to the lower races"; "Administrative difficulties in

relation to the task of reformation," and "Economic and political considerations."

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*Our Moslem Sisters: a Cry of Need from Lands of Darkness* interpreted by those who heard it. Edited by Annie Van Sommer and Samuel M. Zwemer. 299 pp. Published by Revell. 3s. 6d. net.

WE do not remember ever reading so pathetic an appeal as that contained in this volume on behalf of the hundred million women of the Mohammedan world. The book consists of a series of articles by different writers, mostly women, who describe what they have themselves seen of the condition of Mohammedan women in Egypt, Turkey, Tunis, Morocco, Syria, Arabia, Persia, Baluchistan, and Southern India. In Syria and India the lot of Mohammedan women is a hard one, but it is distinctly better than it is elsewhere. The greatest of all the evils to which Mohammedan women have to submit arises from the well-nigh universal custom of divorce. If we take Mohammedan countries as a whole, it would appear that 95 per cent. of the poorer women are divorced at least once. It is easy to imagine how difficult must be the growth of affection and sympathy in a household which is liable to be broken up whenever the husband is dissatisfied with his dinner, or is for any other reason annoyed, and tells his wife to leave him. The one bright spot in the dark picture which is here presented is the measure of happiness which the work of women missionaries has brought into the lives of their Moslem sisters in the few places where Christian Mission work among Mohammedans is being carried on. The appeal which the book makes is to the women of England and America. It is hard to conceive that any woman could read this appeal without becoming conscious of a desire to do something for those who are in such sore need and who would gladly welcome their sympathy and help. There is no limit to the number of women who might find employment as doctors, nurses, teachers, or visitors in the Missions which are working among Moslems. We trust that the publication of this book may add appreciably to the number of those who are willing to volunteer.

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*Sunny Singapore: an Account of the Place and its People, with a sketch of the results of missionary work.* By the Rev. J. B. Cook. 183 pp. Published by Elliot Stock. Price 5s. net.

THIS is a second edition of a book published last year by a Missionary connected with "The Presbyterian Church of England." Nearly half the book deals with Missions in China, but it includes a good sketch of all the missionary work which has



been attempted in the Malay Peninsula, including that done by the Roman Catholics. The Society for which Mr. Cook has been working has at Singapore forty ordained Chinese pastors, 200 Chinese preachers and evangelists, and about 200 elders and deacons, "many of whom are excellent voluntary preachers and Christian workers. In the medical school, besides the foreign staff, there are twenty Chinese assistants and forty native medical students, who have under their care about 1,000 beds distributed over fourteen hospitals. In these about 90,000 patients receive medical attention every year."

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*Shinto, the Ancient Religion of Japan.* By W. G. Aston, D.Litt.  
Published by Constable. 83 pp. Price 1s.

THIS is one of the series entitled "Religions, Ancient and modern," which is being published by Constable. Another work by the same author, entitled *Shinto, the Way of the Gods*, was reviewed in THE EAST AND THE WEST for January. The present volume is hardly sufficiently popular to appeal to those who know nothing of Shintoism, but to the student who has read Dr. Aston's longer treatise it would serve to recall its more important points.

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*The Chinese Language and How to Learn it.* By Sir Walter Hillier, Professor of Chinese in King's College, London. Published by Kegan Paul. Price 12s. 6d. net.

THIS book should be of considerable service to missionaries and others who wish to commence the study of Chinese before leaving England. The author is a very good Chinese scholar.

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*New Canada and the New Canadians.* By H. A. Kennedy.  
With a preface by Lord Strathcona. 294 pp. Published by Horace Marshall. Price 3s. 6d.

THE writer, who has spent many years in Canada as a journalist and in other capacities, gives an admirable sketch of the phenomenal progress of the North-West during the last few years. Some of his descriptions of the life and conditions of work of the new settlers are very graphic, and the book should appeal to a large circle of readers. Lord Strathcona in his introductory note states that if the development of the North-West continues at its present rate for another five or ten years, it will raise sufficient wheat to make the Mother-land independent of foreign countries for her food supply. How sudden has been the rush of immigrants into Canada is shown by the fact that the number of immigrants, which in 1900 was 23,895, had risen to 215,912 for 1906. The number of those who come from the United States is nearly equal to that of those who come from Great Britain; nor is this surprising

when we read that, "to persuade Americans that they will be better off in Canada than in the country of their birth or adoption, the Canadian Government has for years been distributing emigration literature, delivering lectures, exhibiting Canadian products at State and county fairs, and inserting pictorial advertisements in nearly 7,000 American papers." It appears that the average American speedily becomes a loyal subject of King Edward, and that the suggestion that the influx of Americans is likely to make Canada as a whole less loyal to the Mother-land is entirely unfounded.

The writer speaks sympathetically of the work of the clergy and lay readers, "who by incessant journeying in the saddle, the waggon, or the sleigh, attempt to keep alive the habit of public worship and the spirit of religion among their vastly scattered parishioners." He describes a courageous act performed by Archdeacon Lloyd, of Lloydminster, who in 1885 (being then a theological student at Toronto) took part in repelling an attack made by Indians in the neighbourhood of Battleford.

The book is very well printed and illustrated.

*In Dwarf Land and Cannibal Country*: Travel and Discovery in Central Africa. By A. B. Lloyd, third impression, illustrated. 318 pp. Published by Fisher Unwin. Price 7s. 6d.

THE title of this volume is misleading, as hardly 18 out of its 318 pages relate either to dwarfs or cannibals. The writer, a C.M.S. Missionary, has spent some years in Toroland, to the West of Uganda, and the description he gives of the Toro country and people makes very good reading. The book was quite worth writing for the sake of the descriptions which it contains of the work which is being done, both by Missionaries and English Government officials, in this district. The author is a keen sportsman, and tells his numerous lion stories very well. It was on his return to England from Toroland, *via* the Congo, that he passed through the country where the dwarfs described by Stanley are found. His brief references to them add but little to what was already known.

*The Romance of a South African Mission.* Being an account of the Native Mission of the Community of the Resurrection, Mirfield, in the Transvaal. By Latimer Fuller. Published by R. Jackson, Leeds. 109 pp., illustrated. Price 6d.

THE book is worthy of its title. As the author says in his introductory note, "it is happily still true that truth is stranger than fiction." We hope that all our readers who desire to read a true romance dealing with the African native will procure a copy.

*Dr. Baedeker in Russia.* By R. S. Latimer. 223 pp. Published by Morgan & Scott. Price 3s. 6d.

AN account of a tour through Russia and Siberia, undertaken with the special object of preaching and distributing copies of the Scriptures to prisoners.

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IN *The Contemporary Review* for September Mr. E. Lang describes the recent formation of the "All-India Moslem League," the objects of which, as stated by its founders, are "to promote among the Mohammedans of India feelings of loyalty to the British Government, and to protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Mohammedans of India."

In an article entitled "St. Paul's Philosophy of History" Sir Wm. Ramsay endeavours to prove that amongst the nations inhabiting the lands which surround the Mediterranean basin their religious and moral conceptions show traces of degeneration rather than of gradual development and improvement. In opposition to the theory that religion begins in magic and gradually elevates itself to a higher stage of thought, he urges that magic is the degradation of primitive religion, that "degeneration is the outstanding fact in religious history, and that the modern theory often takes the last products of degeneracy as the facts of primitive religion."

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*The South African Church Quarterly* for April includes an article by the Rev. H. P. Bull, S.S.J.E., on "The Organisation of the Native Church," in which he strongly deprecates the proposal to have a separate territorial native episcopate in South Africa, on the ground that it would be a new departure to base the diocesan and provincial organisation of the Church on racial and not on territorial lines, and that "it would extinguish the hope of the world's reconciliation in the Church if the Church organised" itself "on the lines of the great world empires."

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N.B.—Bound copies of the annual volume of THE EAST AND THE WEST for 1907, including list of Contents and Index, will be obtainable early in November through any bookseller, or direct from the S.P.G. House, for 4s. 6d., or 4s. 11d. post free. Cases for binding can be supplied for 6d., or post free 8d.

Copies of the bound volumes of THE EAST AND THE WEST for the last four years can still be supplied. The number available for 1903 is comparatively small, and those who desire to obtain a copy of this volume should apply at once.



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